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Social Relations and Institutional Structures in Modern American Political Campaigns

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SOCIAL RELATIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES IN MODERN AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

by

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December 2014

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SOCIAL RELATIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES IN MODERN AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

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CONFERENCE PAPERS/PRESENTATIONS (cont'd)

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2008 "Managing Disagreement by Invoking Agreement Through Post-Positioned Entitlement." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Communications Association (NCA), San Diego, November 2008.

2008 "Exactly! Thank you! Perfect! Constructing Entitlement from the Third-Position in Educational Interaction." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association (AAA), San Francisco, November 2008.

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2012 "Police Encounters with the public and some initial observations about conflict, and on the use of force, in them." (with Geoffrey Raymond, Nikki Jones). Presented at the Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles, June 2012.

2012 "Going with the program: Some initial observations on the use of force in Police initiated encounters" (with Geoffrey Raymond, Nikki Jones). Presented at the Language, Interaction, an Social Organization group, University of California, Santa Barbara (LISO-UCSB), June 2012.

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2008 "Exercising Entitlement In Next-Turn: The Use of *Exactly* as a Success-Marker." Presented at the Language, Interaction, and Social Organization group, University of California, Santa Barbara (LISO-UCSB), February 2008.

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ABSTRACT

Social Relations And Institutional Structures In Modern American Political Campaigns

By

Ingrid Li Sato

The art of rhetoric (Aristotle) is the art of persuasion: using forms of talk to gather people together – to forge agreement and thereby stimulate [positive] action. How one gets others to agree (with them) – and act on that agreement – is of prominent concern for politicians and those aiming to influence social policy, and is inevitably done through interaction.

The campaign speeches during the US Presidential Election Campaign of 2008 have attracted the attention of a wide range of scholars in Sociology, Political Science, and Communication studies. Although Atkinson (1984), Heritage and Greatbatch (1986), Clayman (1993), and others have radically transformed our understanding of the devices speechmakers use to coordinate audience response ("clap trap"), to date no social or political scientist has described how these moments are stitched together, in real time, to organize the speeches – presidential or otherwise; and we know little about the differences between alternative forms of collective appreciation (e.g., applause versus chanting), and what this might tell us about the different social relations that speakers can establish with audience members by varying specific components of their speech. As a consequence, we understand very little about how politicians compose specific political messages, or how these are shaped by the changing [media] landscape of modern political campaigns.

This research tackles these issues directly by developing a detailed analysis of campaign rally speeches as well as the audience's responses using the tools of Conversation

Analysis. Through a descriptive and analytic account of the underlying normative organization of campaign speeches and the contingencies facing both speakers and audience members, this research considers how speakers use these occasions to shape – even transform – the opportunities and bases for public participation in the political process; demonstrating how the distinctive turn-taking system and its relationship to the "institutional occasion" (c.f., Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974; Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Atkinson, 1982; Heritage 1984; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991; Drew and Heritage, 1992;) – and the forms of political expression they enable – are consequential for the social relations built through them.

In this respect, this research offers a novel approach to a basic question posed by politicians and social/political scientists: What sort of social relations do political leaders establish with the constituents they serve? And how are modern campaign events used to establish such relations?

Specifically, an account of the orderliness, structure, and sequential patterns of talk-in-interaction reveals the ways candidates exploit the interactive organization of speech giving in different ways: how different rhetorical forms were used to make relevant different forms of collective appreciation by audience members (e.g., applause versus chants), which allowed candidates to establish different relations with the public (e.g., did the audience agree with the speaker, or did the speaker agree with the audience?); which building blocks used over the course of a speech (and the entire campaign) could be used to mobilize audience members' participation in events beyond the campaign event, and which caused others' speeches to be more inert? This research offers the most complex (and complete) understanding of modern campaign speeches to date, as well as compelling new findings to help understand why some speeches campaigns are more successful than others.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The speech making of the U.S. Presidential Election Campaign of 2008 – particularly, Barack Obama's abilities – have attracted the attention of a wide range of scholars in Sociology, Political Science, and Communication Studies, as well as media and political pundits. Among the myriad of questions posed, many coalesce around Obama's status as a "charismatic leader" and gifted orator who effectively uses his speeches to mobilize supporters; while others compare his abilities to those of his opponents – often focusing on the deficiencies of other candidates. For example, during MSNBC's live coverage of the 2008 presidential election (where panels of analysts and pundits discuss the candidates), Katrina Vanden Heuvel (editor of Nation Magazine) said that McCain's speech following the New Hampshire primary "deflated his victory. That's not gonna move him forward heading out" (Calderone, 2008); and on a night when both Obama and McCain gave speeches on almost the same topic, in a discussion on the two, Jeffrey Toobin (CNN and The New Yorker) said, "I'm sorry. What about that McCain speech? That was awful, that was pathetic… I mean I thought that was one of the worst speeches that I've seen him give" and Mort Kondracke (Fox News) said, "John McCain had better start working on his speech making… the oratorical gap between this [Obama's] speech and John McCain's was vast" (Veracifier, 2008).

What could be the source of such a discrepancy? What is it that differentiates a good speech and a bad one? Other than the caliber of the audience's response (c.f., Atkinson 1984a, 1984b; Heritage and Greatbatch 1986), what attracts the ear of those that make the differentiation? Is it the speaker's message? Is it the packaging of those messages? What are the elements these analysts and pundits could be picking up on that lead them to such conclusions?

For the most part only questions have been posed – with [at best] superficial answers posited on what distinguishes a successful speech or speaker from an unsuccessful

one. In addition, there has been some debate as to whether the art of oratory is on the decline (Fairlie, 1984; Liebert, 2000; Atkinson, 2008, 2010, 2012) that questions whether the overall decline in the quality of speeches (more unsuccessful than successful ones) is due to the quality of the speakers and speeches, or from the diminished responses from the audience [reflecting diminished interest in the form]. According to Aristotle, the art of rhetoric is the art of persuasion: using forms of talk to gather people together in an attempt to forge agreement and thereby stimulate [positive] action. How one gets others to agree (with them) – and act on that agreement – is of prominent concern for politicians and those aiming to influence social policy (e.g., through social movements) who must, at some point, contend with how participants interact with one another, whether online, via media campaigns, or in occasions that bring participants into direct interaction with one another – as in campaign rally speeches.

Some question whether the waning interest in oratory as an important mode of political expression (for both the speaker and the audience) is an issue with the speaker's inability [to deliver and keep the audience's attention] or whether the audience fails to provide the speaker with an environment with proper feedback (off which the speaker can feed and flourish). Yet, despite this supposed decline, the 2008 presidential election saw resurgence in attendance at campaign rallies – with Obama's speeches at points attracting audiences in the tens-of-thousands, even 100,000 in St. Louis, MO (October, 2008). With that, many pundits and those in the media note the galvanizing spirit of this rhetoric (c.f., Rucker, 2008) and campaign events[1], while some of the other candidates' events had taken a negative turn or had a negative tone. What were they noticing – what could they have been picking up on?

Different approaches to the study of politics and campaigns focus primarily on a range of historical, philosophical, or theoretical issues. Even the more modern approaches – although they include a 'behavioral' or 'structural-functional' approach – still tend to focus

[1] Though his speech making abilities were included as only one of several galvanizing factors of the campaign [strategy].

more on topical content and thematic emphases, which are appropriate for news stories but not well suited to the interactive forms that this research proposes to examine. While these other approaches provide a significant contribution to our understanding of different patterns of campaigning, they also invite complimentary analyses regarding the different ways in which political messages are conveyed (in speeches, on late night talk shows, via Twitter, and other electronic media), the forms of political involvement these give rise to, and the social relations that emerge between politicians and citizens associated with these distinct forms (or modes) of interaction. In this dissertation I take up one these forms: campaign rallies and the speeches that candidates give in them. I chose to focus on such occasions because this institutional form has been central to campaigns for national political office in the modern era, and because they continue to be important even though so many other methods for conveying political messages have emerged. What is it about these events as institutional occasions of interaction that makes them indispensable to campaigns for national office? To consider these questions we will first need to understand just what they are: how are campaign rally speeches organized as institutional occasions for interaction? What are the basic norms that underpin these occasions, and how do the participants' orientations to those norms shape their contributions to the occasions?

Previous research on speechmaking (c.f., Atkinson, 1984; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986; Clayman, 1993) has radically transformed our understanding of the devices speechmakers use to coordinate audience response ("claptraps"). This study aims to contribute to this literature by describing how these devices are stitched together, in real time in a single occasion – and over multiple such occasions – to organize the speeches that, in part, comprise a presidential campaign. Examining these issues will also allow us to consider differences between alternative forms of collective appreciation that occur in these events (e.g., applause, chanting and other forms of collective participation), and what this might tell us about the different social relations that speakers can establish with audience members as they vary specific components of their speech. In considering these matters we might better understand how politicians compose specific political messages, as well as how

the composition and delivery of these messages reflect the changing [media] landscape of modern political campaigns.

As an initial step into the study of politics, this research takes an interactional approach (cf. Clayman and Heritage, 2010) by focusing on one type of occasion: the campaign rally speech. In the 2008 presidential campaign, Barack Obama's speeches and campaign events played a prominent role in the election and contributed to a record-setting election campaign. This dissertation tackles these issues directly by developing a detailed analysis of campaign rally speeches as an institutional occasion for interaction (see Drew and Heritage, 1992), focusing on both the speaker and audience using the tools of Conversation Analysis. Through a descriptive and analytic account of the underlying normative organization of campaign speeches and the contingencies facing both speakers and audience members, this research considers how speakers use these occasions to shape – even transform – the opportunities and bases for public participation in the political process. In this respect, this research offers a novel approach to a basic question posed by politicians and social/political scientists: What sort of social relations do political leaders establish with constituents they serve? And how are modern campaign events used to establish such relations and mobilize supporters?

Specifically, an account of the overall structural organization of campaign rallies and sequential patterns of talk-in-interaction that emerge in such events reveals the ways that different candidates exploited the interactive organization of speech giving in different ways. This includes an analysis of the different rhetorical forms candidates use, how these forms make relevant different forms of collective appreciation by audience members (e.g., applause versus chants), and how these, in turn, allow candidates to establish different relations with the public (e.g., did the audience agree with the speaker, or did the speaker agree with the audience?). In addition, I analyze the ways speakers compose speeches using basic building blocks, as well as how these are coordinated across the entire campaign in an effort to identify which could be used to mobilize audience members' participation in events beyond the campaign event, and which caused others' speeches to be more inert.

This research offers the most complex (and complete) understanding of modern campaign speeches to date, as well as compelling new findings to help us understand why some campaigns are more successful than others.

1.1 DATA AND METHOD

The data in the research are designedly limited almost exclusively to campaign rally speeches from the 2008 presidential election campaign, including the primary season, though there are a few cases from the 2012 campaign season.

The 2008 presidential election campaign was a record-setting year for several election related statistics:

- Fundraising records: ($745 million raised by Obama), as well as campaign dollars spent (over $1B between just the two national candidates alone);
- Attendance records: the unusually high number of those attending campaign rallies only increased as the campaign progressed (rather than showing fatigue): 16,000 in Springfield, IL (February, 2007) to hear him announce his candidacy, then 30,000 in Philadelphia, PA (April, 2008), then 75,000 in Portland, OR (May, 2008), then 76,000 at the DNC (August, 2008), then 100,000 in St. Louis, MO (October, 2008), and 80,000 in Cleveland, OH (November, 2008) (Tapper & Hinman, 2007; Huffington Post, 2008);
- Record campaign season: it was an extraordinarily long campaign season that started earlier and took longer to determine a finalist – it was a 'nightly news nightmare' (Farnsworth, 2011:25);
- Record ratings: both National Conventions had the highest ratings (About.com, n.d.) ever for the broadcast, and cable networks devoted round-the-clock coverage of the campaign events;
- Record voter turnout: A record 131 million people voted, an increase of 5 million from 2004 (56.8% of the voting population, up from 55.3% in 2004) – its highest levels in 40 years; 2 million more black voters, 2 million more Hispanic voters, and 600,000 more Asian voters; a boost in voters 18-24, reaching 49% in 2008 (compared

with 47% in 2004); early voting hit a new high, with roughly 41 million people (more than 31%) voting before election day (Barr, 2008; CBSNEWS, 2008; McGuirt, 2009; U.S. Census Bureau, 2009);

Many analysts attribute these records to the enthusiasm of the youth and minority votes for Obama's candidacy, and its sophisticated campaign [strategy] that energized and galvanized those voters.

Prior to this election, speeches – especially those from campaign rallies – had never garnered as much attention from the media as well as the general public. Part of that interest came from a campaign effort by the respective candidates, but part came from the stark contrasts in styles of the various speakers. In this case, technology has aided the resurgence and renewed interest in oratory. Youtube.com allows campaigns to post entire speeches/rallies with no worry about sound bites. Other social media platforms allow voters to post about the experience (whether it be videos, pictures, or commentary on the various platforms). News organizations' coverage gets more 'play' than just the nightly news. In other words, what gets broadcast to the public is not merely for its 'quotability, selection by others, and televisuality' (Atkinson, 1984a:132–163).

The data for this research consists of 65 speeches, 61 from the historic 2008 presidential election campaign, including the primary season, from various candidates: Fred Thompson (2), Sarah Palin (5), Mike Huckabee (5), Ron Paul (6), Mitt Romney (8), Hillary Clinton (10), John McCain (10), and Barack Obama (14); and four from the 2012 campaign: Romney/Ryan (1) and Barack Obama (3). The speeches utilized in the following research consist solely of one type: campaign rally speeches. The analysis does not include appearances or prepared remarks designed and delivered to special (interest) "groups." For example, speeches from fundraising/donor events, keynote addresses at [non-political] conventions[2], and especially "comments" to mark certain occasions or on specific topics

[2] However, this does include Obama's 2008 DNC speech as – in an unprecedented move – the Obama campaign made a change in venue (from Pepsi center, an 18,000 capacity, to INVESCO Field, a 75,000 capacity) to accommodate tens-of-thousands regular voters

(e.g., “freedom” during the fourth of July, “thanks” to our military, on “healthcare” or “the financial market,” etc.) were not included in the database, though some were examined early in the project as a basis for comparison. In addition, several campaign rally speeches were viewed but not included in the collection because the video or audio quality prevented it from being used in the analysis.

As this might suggest, this resulted in most of the speeches in the collection coming from broadcast versions of events as they have both the clearest visuals and close-ups of the speakers as well as audio quality that give us the best in terms of the production features (e.g., non-verbal, posture, etc.). However, this is not without certain consequences, as these tend to be the most polished speeches with the largest audiences[3]. Another issue is that these versions have the occasional [visual] interference (from graphics, different angles/shots, etc.). But despite the switches made for production value, the audio remained intact; for analytic purposes, any segments that included cuts to the audio were not included in the final analysis.

CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

To this data I take an interactional approach. Conversation Analysis (hereafter “CA”) attempts to describe the orderliness, structure, and sequential patterns of talk-in-interaction found in both everyday talk and institutional settings such as news interviews, doctor/patient interaction, classrooms, and political oratory, among others, constituted primarily (or in part) through talk-in-interaction. Such investigations aim to uncover the ways such systematic patterns and ‘practices’ in talk reflect and contribute to the organization of social relations and social life. CA has been particularly effective for the analysis of political interaction by focusing on how orators and audience members in general manage routine problems in the organization of collective action.

[3] This also has its own costs/benefits, which we will address in the conclusion when we discuss future research for the area.

The conversation analytic study of talk at work (or, talk in institutional settings) focuses on the various ways in which the conduct of participants is shaped or constrained by their orientations to some formal social institution or institutional framework for conduct – either as 'representatives' or 'clients' of that institution (Drew & Heritage, 1992:5).

When compared with ordinary conversation, institutional interaction involves "specific reductions of the range of options or opportunities for action that are characteristic in [ordinary] conversation, and they often involve *specializations* and *respecifications* of the interactional functions of the activities that remain" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991:95; see also Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974:729; Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Atkinson, 1982; Heritage, 1984). The variations from ordinary conversation produce "a "unique fingerprint" for each institutional form of interaction – the "fingerprint" being comprised of a set of interactional practices differentiating each form, both from other institutional forms and from the baseline of mundane conversational interaction itself" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991:95–96).

Using CA, this research will begin to unpack the intrigue and the issues surrounding the interest in Obama's abilities and status as a "charismatic leader" – but also demonstrating that these formal structures are not unique to Obama or to modern political campaigns. "[S]ocial structure consists of matters that are described and oriented to by members of society on relevant occasions as essential resources for conducting their affairs and, at the same time, reproduced as external and constraining social facts through that same social interaction (Wilson, 1991:27). The question is what these structures look like, and what can and what do they accomplish on this particular institutional occasion (political oratory)?

Previous conversation analytic work on political oratory (Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986) begin the inquiry into these matters by explaining the importance of applause and other audience responses for politicians, and revealing the rhetorical construction of political messages. The seminal works by Atkinson (1984a; 1984b) and Heritage & Greatbatch (1986) consider how it is that collective responses, such

as applause, cheers, and boos, [through their projectability] are coordinated with audience members, their timing, and the forms to which they respond (i.e., "rhetorical devices"). They focus their attention on the methods speakers use in organizing collective behavior. These works use two main types of data for their analyses[4]: major speeches given by recognized orators (e.g., PM Margaret Thatcher, Martin Luther King, John F. Kennedy, etc.) in various venues, and [predominantly] speeches given by British politicians at the various parties' annual conferences (Conservative, Labor, etc.).

The selection of their data was deliberate: the analysts set out to explicate the generic (i.e., context-free) forms of social organization relevant for coordinating collective responses and as a result mostly focus on one type of collective appreciation: applause. Atkinson (1984a) reveals that opportunities for participating in speeches are (formally) limited to those occasions where audiences are invited to respond (clapping, booing, etc.) – what Atkinson calls, an "invitation to applaud." Collectively, the works point out that responses from the audience provide a barometer of appeal that can profoundly shape the careers of both ideas and persons. Complicating matters, audiences primarily respond (as a form of agreement or approval) in response to only a narrow range of political messages (what Atkinson calls "applaudable messages") that have been packaged using specialized rhetorical devices – or "claptraps."

While these seminal works provide a significant contribution to our understanding of turn-taking and political oratory, their insight into the "relationship between the use of rhetorical devices and the generation of applause (agreement)" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986:110) invites complimentary analyses into the structure and organization of *action-sequencing* in these institutional environments, and "other forms" of audience response. This research aims to demonstrate that if one examines speech giving in other contexts one

[4] There was the occasional reference to speeches made at other public gatherings where there was a co-present audience – for example, at [awards] ceremonies; but predominantly, political speeches were the most referenced.

can find additional forms of collective response (e.g., chanting) that open up other aspects of the underlying forms of social organization relevant for their production.

As with other such generic forms of social organization (e.g., turn taking, sequence organization), participants can exploit the organization of the generic form/s in ways that are sensitive to a specific context or project. Understanding these context specific variations in the organization of collective response – and explicating what they reveal about the occasions in which they occur – can, in turn, deepen our understanding of the generic forms of organization they exploit.

This study is grounded in a sequential and structural analysis of rally speeches, an analysis that is subsequently grounded in the varied responses from the audience members. This research extends the focus of previous work on the 'projectability' and 'timing' through the use of rhetorical devices by focusing on the ways in which messages packaged in these forms can be understood to reveal how these become consequential for the types of social relations established between all parties.

But before we can attempt [all of] this, we must first take a step back and get a little background on the systems and circumstances. Everything we know thus far about speeches and speech making is based on this prior research; research that is based mostly on speeches delivered at the U.K. party conferences (with only some coming from the General Elections). Speech giving, however, is not an undifferentiated affair. Although there are some basic similarities for all speeches, to which the authors point (i.e., the commonalities that produce its/give us a generic forms), the occasion matters: speeches get delivered in a wide variety of contexts, and that context matters for the exchange that unfolds. So in order to get a sense for what a campaign rally speech is, and how it differs from the speeches in previous research, it is necessary to first get a little background on the systems for electing the nation's leader(s) in the two differing contexts (the U.K. and U.S. system of elections, respectively). Then we can examine how those circumstances surrounding the election systems differ, which will allow us to discuss how those differences literally set the stage for specific types of events; how those differing circumstances produce tangible differences

in the context under which those speeches are given, and how that matters for the exchange that results.

1.2 A LITTLE BACKGROUND

What we know of political speeches and collective responses come from the aforementioned studies, which are mostly based on speeches from British politicians speaking at their [respective] party conferences. As one might expect, the political and electoral structures in the U.K. are quite different than in the U.S. (on which this current research is based). And, as it happens, these different systems create very different opportunities – very different occasions – for politicians to deliver prepared remarks (e.g., to deliver a speech, to give a press conference, etc.). But before we can begin to explicate what that those occasions are like, we need to first take a look at the systems themselves: what each political/election system consists of, and then a brief discussion on the differences between the systems and the practical impact those differences have on the types of events and appearances (i.e., speaking engagements) the candidates make.

(The U.K. General Election) In the U.K., the governing body – the Parliament – is made up of the House of Lords (membership by appointment of the Queen[5]) and the House of Commons (membership determined through democratic selection in a 'general election'). According to the Fixed Term Parliament Act (passed on September 15, 2011), beginning 2015 general elections to elect members of the House of Commons are to be held on the first Thursday in May during the Parliament's fifth year in office[6]. However, prior to its enactment[7] the election dates were not fixed. By law, Parliament's tenure was indeed limited to five years (elections were required to occur "no later than every five years"), but also by

[5] Although changes have been proposed to change both the appointment and the peerage system (see "House of Lords," n.d.).
[6] With the exception of two provisions which may trigger an election other than the fifth year.
[7] This analysis is based on the history of the elections, and therefore will be based on the election campaigns prior to the passing of the Act (2011).

law the government's leader, the British Prime Minister (hereby known as the PM), could dissolve Parliament early[8] and call an election at any time during her 5-year term[9]. When the PM dissolves Parliament, every seat in the House of Commons is vacated, and a general election must be held with 17 days (excluding bank holidays and weekends).

Although the timing of the elections has been modified via this Fixed Term Parliament Act, the method of election remains the same. Candidates for Parliament chosen by the party must campaign in their respective constituency to with their own seat in the House. The public votes for the candidate that will represent their constituency and sit in the House of Commons (as Members of Parliament, or 'MPs') using a "first past the post" system. In this system – also known as a 'winner-takes-all' or 'simple majority' system – the candidate with the most votes wins the seat for that constituency. Additionally, the party (or coalition) that wins the [overall] majority[10] number of seats in the House of Commons for that election gets to appoint their party's leader as the PM. The PM is then afforded the right to select the other ministers [of the cabinet], forming "Her Majesty's Government" – which is known as the central (ruling) government. As a consequence, each seat in the House of Commons is crucial to the party's election and the collective goal of forming the central government; therefore, candidates run on a coordinated message that presents a united vision of what the party would do if selected to lead the country.

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[8] Although this is the sole discretion of the Sovereign (or the Monarch) by way of Royal Proclamation, s/he does not act alone on this but on the advice of [at the request of] the Prime Minister ("The Queen of Parliament," n.d.).
It is this *de facto* authority that is acknowledged as the PM's "right" to dissolve Parliament; why it is mostly considered that the "Prime Minister could call a general election at any time" (see "Dissolution of Parliament," n.d.).

[9] Typically, the timing of this move was for political or election-strategy purposes: in order to maximize a political advantage in forthcoming [just called] the election. "Usually the Prime Minister decided to call an election at a time when he or she was most confident of winning the election (getting more MPs than any other party)" ("Dissolution of Parliament," n.d.); this is one reason many have criticized that the election results are typically known in advance (c.f., "General Election 2010," 2010).

[10] Although, the goal is for an absolute majority (having more than half of the entire body), otherwise the result is a hung Parliament (a Parliament where whichever party is in power will need the support of members from other parties in order to pass laws) ("What is a Hung Parliament," 2010).

This united vision of the party is debated at the party's annual conference[11] – which is the party's annual gathering following a summer recess for Parliament. The conference marks the start of the new political year. These conferences typically occur in late-September through early-October. During the several days' span, there are several debates, panel discussions, and speeches on the state of the party and where the party is headed (or should be headed) in the coming year. In some cases, members vote on resolutions and/or motions[12] that have been put forth ahead of time by different member groups/unions within the party. As a result, the speeches delivered during these annual conferences tend to have a professional agenda (e.g., oratory that re-affirms party culture that will guide the direction of the party in the coming year; oratory on resolutions up for debate, on which they will immediately vote; oratory on the party platform or party manifesto[13] on which the candidates will eventually campaign), attempting to sway the party. As important as these annual conferences are for each respective party, they have little direct connection to the general elections and the campaigns as these are annual and elections are every several years (with dates that have been relatively unpredictable[14]).

Once an election is called by the PM, the parties publish and release their manifesto. Party leaders and MP candidates then campaign[15] [nationally and in their constituency,

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[11] For more information on party conferences, see "Q&A: 2013 Party Conferences," (2013) and "Party Conference Season," (n.d.).

[12] For sample agendas: the 2013 Labour annual conference agenda (lists several motions) see "Conference Schedule," (n.d.); for the 2014 Conservative annual conference agenda see "Agenda," (n.d.). But in recent years there has been a move toward the governing bodies making more of the final decisions.

[13] Although, the timing of the elections and the parties' annual conferences makes it likely that the agendas are written by the parties' ruling body – rather than written following the conference. For example, in 2010, the election was announced on April 10. The Labour manifesto followed on April 12, 2010; the Conservative manifesto followed on April 13, 2010; and the Liberal Democrat manifesto on April 14, 2010 (see "Conservative Manifesto," 2010).

[14] Since WWII, only four of the 17 general elections occurred anywhere near conference season (4 elections held in October: 1951, 1959, 1964, and 1974). And of the remaining 13, the closest to conference season would be two held in February (1950 and 1974). See Appendix B.

[15] It has been argued, however, that in part because elections were called by the PM when conditions were favorable for a victory, these were merely performatory and not actually 'campaigning.' For example, in a report of the 2010 general election (which was a very tight

respectively] on that platform. During this time, party leaders and candidates alike then go out on a series of appearances, which often includes giving speeches – speeches that are delivered in a wide variety of contexts. These include (but are not limited to) both formal (announcements, conferences, assemblies) and informal (visits, meets/greets[16]), or a small combination of the two ("hustings" events[17]). Hustings events are meetings where candidates or parties debate policies and answer questions from voters (the audience), but where the candidates and leaders [can] start off by giving prepared remarks; designed as an opportunity for voters to hear the views of candidates or parties. These events can either be national hustings events (for the parties campaigning in the election, typically the party's leader) or local hustings events (for candidates of that particular constituency). The structure and format of these events can vary according to who the participants are, and who the organizers – and who or what their members and interests – are[18].

(The U.S. General Election) By contrast, the U.S. governing body is made up of the three branches of government: the Judicial Branch (membership by Federal appointment), the Legislative Branch consisting of the House of Representatives and the Senate (membership entirely determined by democratic selection in national elections), and the Executive Branch consisting of the President and Vice-President (democratically selected in national

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race), the Telegraph noted that "[H]istorically, elections are often decided well before the campaign event begins, for all that the political pundits talk up the impact of the four or five weeks in the run-up to polling day. Usually, a general impression has already been created, which the campaigns tend merely to solidify" http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/election-2010/7696467/General-Election-2010-the-great-debate-election.html

[16] During these informal events, leaders/candidates may deliver some prepared remarks in advance; mostly these are considered to be more like a press conference than anything.

[17] For information on what these are and the official rules regarding, see: http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/105946/sp-hustings-rp-npc-ca.pdf

[18] An online search of videos for local hustings events shows a wide variety of events, ranging from: those with one candidate and those with up to four candidates; with the candidates seated in a panel form or standing at a podium; with the candidates delivering prepared remarks or those where the candidates simply answer questions from the audience after some remarks by the sponsors. As a note: this observation, however, is limited and skewed by the availability of such data from online sources.

elections), the department heads (i.e., the cabinet appointed by the President), and heads of various independent agencies.

In the U.S., the President does not and cannot call an election, but rather the date of every general election is pre-determined as a matter of law[19]. This general election ("election day,") votes for most public officials for all states and territories. The general election is considered the 'national' election, but is in fact a collective network of independently state-run elections, wherein each state is elects their own representatives for the House and Senate; and in the years of a presidential election, voting for which of the presidential candidates their "electors" (see electoral college system, below) will be counted towards. And although the election of Senators and Congresspersons sometimes coincides with [national] presidential elections[20], winning a 'majority' in the House and/or Senate in the general election (though it may have some benefits) does not constitute a ruling party. The outcome of those elections has no direct bearing on who shall be the President.

The President of the United States of America is an elected office, by way of an Electoral College system rather than a direct popular vote. In this system, each state is awarded a number of "electors" based on the number of Congressional seats to which they are entitled. Each state holds their own election and the victor is awarded the state's pledged electors, winner takes all[21]. The candidate with the most 'electors' (currently 270 of the 538) wins the election.

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[19] On the Tuesday following the first Monday of November, every fourth year: local and [some] state elections are held on this day every year; elections for federal offices are held on this day on even numbered years only, with the exception of the Presidential election which is held in years divisible by four.

[20] Elections for the Senate and Congress are held every even-numbered year, with the elections not involving 'Presidential candidates' called off-year (or, 'mid-term') elections and the years that coincide with the President/Vice-President called 'on-year'). All Congresspersons serve two-year terms, and are up for election every cycle. Senators, however, serve six-year terms; their elections are staggered so that only one-third of Senators are up for election in any given general election. Election processes differ according to each individual state (primaries, ballot access, etc.), but in most cases the candidate with the simple majority is considered the winner.

[21] Except for Maine and Nebraska. Additionally, unpledged electors are possible.

But before heading to the national election, any would-be-candidates for President must first run against other viable candidates within their party and "win" the nomination through a series of individually run statewide contests[22]: primary elections (run by states), caucuses (run by parties), or a combination of both[23]. These contests begin in Iowa (by tradition since 1972) usually in January, and continue typically through July/August[24] (or until one candidate 'wins' a majority of the delegates for their respective party). The campaign events and appearances during the primary season are entirely up to the candidates' campaigns and/or their respective political parties. In addition to the casual/conversational events (e.g., visits and/or 'meet-and-greets'), candidates also have formal/institutional engagements where candidates are prompted or asked for their opinions (debates, interviews), where they deliver prepared remarks (fundraisers, campaign rallies, addresses to organizations), or – a recent re-emergence of – some combination of the two (town hall style meetings and debates). The victor of the primaries then selects their own running mate [for Vice-President], and both candidates appear together ("on the same ticket") at the formal nominating convention and for the general election.

The presidential nominating convention (as the name indicates) only occurs during presidential election years. The national parties award a certain number of 'delegates' per state to attend their presidential nominating convention (hereby know simply as 'convention'). Each state then selects who their delegates will be. These delegates serve as representatives who "pledge" their vote[25] for the victor in their state's primary election/caucus. Although there are formal proceedings for the convention (meetings,

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[22] This part of the process is not, however, a matter of law [in the United States Constitution] but rather a process that has been created over time by the political parties. The method of nominating one candidate per party by way of delegates in a convention resulted from the problematic elections of 1796 and 1800; but the use of primary elections did not become a tradition for both parties until 1972.

[23] Exactly which preliminary contest or combination that will occur in which state is entirely determined by that state in conjunction with the respective parties.

[24] 10 of the 18 Post-WWII conventions – which mark the end of the primary season – have been in July (DNC) and August (RNC).

[25] Based on the results of the primary, but also in accordance with the rules of their state party; most typically, candidates receive delegates based on a percentage of popular votes each candidate receives in the state's primary/caucus for each respective party.

rallies, and routine business such as selecting convention officers), the formal objectives are to officially nominate someone as the candidates for President and Vice-President, to establish a party platform, and establish rules for the party's activities. However, over the years the presidential nominating convention and its events have become mostly a ceremonial affair (more like "announcements") as the candidate for President is known and determined well in advance, and the party's platform is not so much binding (most parties are not held accountable to it) as it is a set of guidelines or possibilities[26].

Following their official nomination at the party's convention (as mentioned, post-WWII conventions have typically been in July or August, with a few as late as September[27]), the two candidates (President/Vice-President) selected by each party use the remaining months before the general election [in November of that same year] travelling the country to campaign. The campaigns and respective parties similarly decide the campaign-related events for the national election: visits, speeches, debates, interviews, fundraisers, campaign rallies, and town-hall-style meetings and debates.

DISCUSSION: ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND SPEECHES

As previously mentioned, the context for the occasion matters for any delivered speech and the resulting exchange that unfolds. The two election systems just described have several features that distinguish them, features that produce very different occasions for the speeches delivered: the method of election (the process itself) for the country's leader/s, the lengths of the campaigns, and the different types of campaign-related meetings that occur as a result [of the former two]. Collectively, these differences give the U.S. candidates much more freedom when it comes to the types of appearances they will make, which topics will be addressed, and who the [target] audience will be; and therefore contributes to both a

[26] Also due, in part, to modern changes in the way campaigns are run, in election laws, and in primary and caucus calendars.

[27] All depending on a number of factors, mostly scheduling issues (when the primaries concluded, when the summer Olympics are due to start, kickoff of football season) as well as campaign finance rules (candidates can spend an infinite amount before the convention, but in order to receive federal campaign funds, fundraising after the convention is not allowed).

substantive and qualitative difference between the speeches studied in previous research and those in this current study.

The biggest and most consequential difference between the two systems is the method of election for the country's leader. In the U.K., citizens only vote for their constituency's MP. The PM is selected by the *party* that wins the national election (by winning the most seats in the House), who then gets to select the cabinet, which forms – what is considered to be – the ruling government. And because each vote for an MP counts as a vote towards a party, this method of election makes it more likely that voters will vote for a 'party' (i.e., their vision, based on their platform/manifesto) rather than an individual candidate ("American v British elections," n.d.). This is especially true in years where the race is tight, and a few seats could mean the difference between a simple majority[28] and an overall majority. And as a consequence of this process, the subject of the election – the substance of the debate regarding whom voters should vote for, the issue to which politicians speak – tends to focus on the parties and the differences between the parties, rather than the candidates. For instance, the following cases demonstrate the politician's orientation to the unified vision of the party (i.e., their party's manifesto, as in ex. 1.01 below), to political achievements as belonging to the party (ex. 1.02 below); and when they speak of individuals it is regarding policy, not personality (as in ex. 1.03 below). And even when speaking directly to constituents[29] while campaigning, they speak in terms of the parties (as in ex. 1.04 below):

[28] Also known as 'a situation of no overall control,' or more colloquially as a 'hung Parliament.'

[29] Made explicit here because in the excerpts taken from the general election, Atkinson (1984a) context given regarding who the politician is speaking to (party members or constituents)

[ex. 1.01] (UK general election, 1979)
reprinted from Atkinson, (24) Steel

Steel: You know when the Guardian newspaper looked through the manifestoes last week for new ideas, they awarded us forty two points, against Labour's eleven and the Tories' Nine.

[ex. 1.02] (UK general election, 1983)
reprinted from Atkinson, 1984 (2) Thatcher

Thatcher: There's no government anywhere that is tackling the problem with more vigour, imagination and determination than this Conservative government.

[ex. 1.03] (Labour: Tape 7: Constitution: Helen Osborn)
reprinted from Heritage and Greatbatch, (6)

Osborn: The wa:y to fight Thatcher
(0.4)
is not through the silent conformity of the graveyard,
(0.5)
but by putting party policies (0.2)
powerfully and determinedly from the front bench.

Audience: hear [hear

Audience: [hear [hear

Audience: [Applause

[ex. 1.04] "Vote Conservative" (simplified) ~ D. Cameron

April 06, 2008 — South Bank, London (address)

01 Cam: There is a today a modern Conservative
02 alternative that has got the leadership,
03 that's got the energy, that's got the
04 values, to get this country moving.
05 And if you vote Conservative, you are voting
06 for hope, you're voting for optimism, you're
07 voting for change, you're voting for the
08 fresh start this country, our country so
09 badly needs. And don't let anybody tell you,
10 don't let anybody tell you that there is no
11 real choice this election. There is a real
12 choice. It's not just five more years of
13 Gordon Brown, or real change with the
14 Conservatives. When it comes to our economy
15 there is a real choice. There is the Labor
16 way of more debt and more taxes and more
17 waste, or there is the Conservative way of
18 saying no, we've got to stop that waste, to
19 stop Labor's job tax, which would wreck our
20 recovery. And look what's happened in the
21 last few weeks. Leaders of some of Britain's
22 biggest and most successful businesses
23 saying that when it comes to getting our
24 recovery going it is the Conservatives that

got it right and it's Labor who've got it wrong. Think about what Labor are saying to people in this country. They're saying we want to go on wasting your money, and then we're gonna put up your taxes. We say no. Every family in our country has had to make savings. Every business in our country has had to make savings. Why should government be any different. And there is real choice

Leaders mention nothing of their own policies or personal qualifications over another's, but rather highlight key reasons for voting for their party over others. And although Osborn mentions Thatcher (ex. 1.03) and Cameron briefly mentions Brown (ex. 1.04) by name, it is solely in their capacity as the group's representative/leader. The major focus of the message – and the comparison being made – is of the parties' policies.

In the U.S. system, the opposite is true: voters are not electing a party to office, and the candidate's relationship with voters and audiences is much more complex. Case in point, some voters' focus can be on the candidate *the person* to the extent that she votes for candidates *despite* their party affiliation – not *because of it*[30]. As voters potentially select based on the person[ality], the focus of the campaigns is on the character, principles, reputation, and perspectives or viewpoints of the candidates, and how those impact their decision-making abilities. Candidates tend to talk about the goals and aims that they have, decisions they have made and would make [if elected], their history and background, experience and qualifications. For example:

[30] Case in point, during the 2008 election a popular term emerged for just these types of voters: Obamicans (c.f., Berman, 2008). These are lifelong Republicans who declared their support and pledged to vote for Obama. There is even a group/website dedicated to this very issue, including testimonials about why they are voting for a candidate from the party of the 'opposition' called http://www.republicansforobama.org/

[ex. 1.05] “I know” (simplified) ~ J. McCain

Feb 19, 2008 — Columbus, OH (WI Primary rally)

01 McC: My friends, I know what our military can
02 do, what it can do better, and what it
03 should not do. I know how Congress works
04 and how to make it work for the country,
05 and not just for the re-election of its
06 members. I know how the world works. I know
07 the good and the evil in it. I know how to
08 work with leaders who share our dreams of
09 a freer, safer and more prosperous world
10 and how to stand up to those who don't.

[ex. 1.06] “I want” (simplified) ~ H. Clinton

June 03, 2008 — New York, NY (SD Primary rally)

01 HCl: You know, I understand that that a lot of
02 people are asking, "What does Hillary want?
03 What does she want?" Well, I want what I
04 have always fought for in this whole
05 campaign. I want to end the war in Iraq.
06 AUD: APPLAUSE
07 HCl: I want to turn this economy around. I want
08 health care for every American. I want every
09 child to live up to his or her God-given

potential. And I want the nearly 18 million Americans who voted for me to be respected, to be heard, and no longer to be invisible.

... ((*43 lines omitted*))

((where she then discusses some additional issues plaguing the country: "That's why I want universal health care… I've been working on this issue not just for the past 16 months, but for 16 years."; she then adds, "I want an economy that works for all families. That's why I've been fighting to create millions of new jobs in clean energy and rebuilding our infrastructure…"; and she concludes that:))

HCl: And I want to restore America's leadership in the world. I want us to be led once again by the power of our values, to have a foreign policy that is both strong and smart, to join with our allies and confront our shared challenges, from poverty and genocide to global terrorism and global warming. These are the issues that brought me into this race. They are the lifeblood of my campaign. And they have been and will continue to be the causes of my life.

So while the British elections and campaigns focus on the party[31], the Americans' focus is mostly on the individual [candidate][32]; while the British elections focus on knowing the issues and policies and disseminating information, American elections focus on knowing the candidate's personality and perspective. The public's perception of the candidate [as a person] is so important that the candidates' campaigns and the media go to great lengths to get information and feedback (conducting focus groups, taking polls, etc.) on the public's opinions of the candidate. And more recently studies include not only perceptions but also the actual [media] "coverage of the candidates' character, history, leadership and appeal" (Pew, 2008). It was even reported that John McCain's campaign manager in 2008 (Rick Davis) acknowledged that the election was more about personalities than issues: "This election is not about the issues… This election is about the composite view of what people take away from these candidates,"(Cillizza, 2008). In fact, it was reported that 53% of the election coverage narrative focuses on the candidates behavior (e.g., temperament, body language, personal encounters) ("U.S. election media coverage," 2008).

This focus on the individual candidate could be one of the reasons for our next big difference: the discrepancy in the trajectories of the elections. The campaigns leading up to the elections are on completely different tracks: the [previous] British system was akin to an unpredictable drag race – an unexpected all-out sprint in a single event (a single focus),

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[31] To the extent that even independent organizations and websites are dedicated to matching voters' views with a particular party. For example, http://voteforpolicies.org.uk/ is a website designed specifically to "help people decide who to vote for – based on policies alone" (their slogan is "vote for policies, not personalities!"); and even publications guide citizens to "vote in the 2010 U.K. General Election by matching your views on the issues most important to you with each political party's policies" ("How should I vote…" n.d.)

[32] This is such a striking contrast between the two systems that during the U.K.'s 2010 general election, the inclusion of the leaders' families and the focus on their personal lives was one of the issues in a discussion whether the election was becoming more "American." James Kirkup, Daily Telegraph Political correspondent said, "we're definitely getting more focus on the characters, the personalities, the family lives of the leaders … we're also getting wives for the first time. This is my third general election campaign, I can't remember before having the spouses of our party leaders playing such a central part – where we're in daily deconstructions of the wardrobes and the dress of Sarah Brown, of Samantha Cameron, of Miriam Clegg. I mean so you know really we're being presented with a family package of you know around each leader as opposed to the traditional party platform" ("British Elections Becoming Americanized," 2010).

while the US system is more of a rally race – more like a marathon with [multiple] separate stages (a series of several inter-connected events).

Under the previous U.K. system, the PM could call an election at any time during her/Parliament's tenure. And from the time that Parliament is dissolved, the general election was to be held within 17 days (excluding weekends and bank holidays)[33], giving candidates and their respective parties just about one month to campaign. Although the elections were, by law, to occur 'no later than' every five years, they generally occurred more often than much sooner than that fifth year[34]. In the post-WWII era, the average term length of Parliament is just three years and seven months. Of the 17 post-WWII general elections (1950 and later), only four (almost 18%) were held near the [anticipated] five-year mark, and six of elections (35%) were held before Parliament had served four years – with three of those (18%) occurring before Parliament even completed their second year. So, this means that 14 of the elections were called unexpectedly, thereby only providing – literally – a single month's notice for the election; thus, the system produce(d) little notice and a relatively short campaign season leading up to a single election [day].

By contrast, the U.S. system has no such laws limiting the length of the campaign, and in fact the pre-determined date provides for long and extensive campaign seasons. One reason for the longer season is because of the primary contests. This series of separate but affiliated contests starts in January and can run as late as June – extending an already lengthy season that runs [typically] June to until the election in November. Though not a requirement by law (but, rather, a process that developed over time in the last 40+ years by the political parties), this season is now an established part of the process. And although presidential campaigns used to be relatively brief, various factors (e.g., competition between states to have more influence on the nomination[35], the increase in the pool of potential

[33] But for 2015 this changes to 25 days following the dissolution of Parliament
[34] For a complete list of general election and other related dates refer to Appendix B.
[35] As candidates tend to secure the nomination well before the end of the primary season (June), states have strategized ways to increase their influence on the result. For example, one way is by creating a "block" of primaries (the first ever Super Tuesday was the first

candidates in primary races, expanding coverage by the news media[36], technological advances, relaxed constraints on campaign fundraising, etc.) have been extending the campaign season further and further. For example, it has been proposed several times that the 2008 presidential campaign season actually began as soon as early 2007, when the candidates began announcing their candidacy[37]; in April of 2011, Mitt Romney made an official announcement that he would *explore* a bid (and despite not being an announcement of his actual candidacy, by virtue of 'making an official announcement' some considered this to be the beginnings of his campaign; c.f., Memmott, 2011) – for the election 18 months later in 2012.

This lengthier campaign season gives the U.S. candidates much more freedom when it comes to the types of appearances they will make, which topics will be addressed [when], and who the [target] audience will be. One reason is the sheer number of public appearances and opportunities to deliver prepared remarks. The number of campaign related events in the U.S. by far outweigh those of the U.K. For example, during the 2010 election, Brown (Labor), Cameron (Conservative), and Clegg (LibDem) collectively had nearly

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Tuesday in March of 1988); another way is by moving the primaries earlier and earlier (in 2008 Super Tuesday was the first Tuesday in *February*); New Hampshire's Primary used to be in early March, but in 2008 was in early January. This has become more and more frequent, on occasion causing controversy (as in 2008 when Michigan and Florida's delegates came into question when they moved up their primaries to dates that were earlier than permitted by party rules).

[36] In February of 2007, campaign stories consumed 95 minutes of attention from the beginning of the year through Feb. 27 on the evening newscasts of the three major networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC); that was more time than in the comparable periods for the previous *four* presidential election cycles combined, according to the Tyndall Report (Bauder, 2007). An October of 2013 report indicates, "coverage of the 2016 election has [already] received more coverage than the 2012 or 2008 campaigns received during comparable time frames" (Hitlin, 2013).

[37] Clinton announced her opened her Presidential bid on January 20, 2007, which some argued was a campaign strategy in and of itself as it was timed just before President Bush's state of the union address – so she could contrast herself with the current administration (Balz, 2007); and Obama announced his candidacy in a speech delivered to an estimated crowd of almost 16,000 – which some viewed as a campaign move as well. However, many state that preparation for one's candidacy must begin years before the announcement (Vontz, 2000) – including forming committees to test their appeal and probability (a political action committee and an exploratory committee), raising funds, and recruitment (supporters, endorsements); in other words, the strategizing and campaigning begins well before the actual primary or election seasons.

150 appearances between all three during their month of campaigning[38], whereas the appearances by McCain and Obama averaged almost four times that: combined they had almost 600 appearances from July-October[39]. And with a larger quantity of appearances than their U.K. counterparts, and more time in which to make them, it allows for a wider variety on the types of appearances and meetings than the British system, including events unique to the American system (e.g., campaign rallies, debates[40]).

A second factor for the relative freedom U.S. candidates have when it comes to their appearances and topics addressed is their campaign funding. The discrepancy in appearances is also both reflected in and supported by the growing coverage and the spending limits/amounts spent on the campaigns and elections in the U.S. The spending on election campaigns in the U.K. (generally referenced in the "10s of millions) is nowhere near the spending in the U.S. (which in recent years is referenced in the "100s of millions"). For example:

- During the 2010 U.K. general elections, the spending by all parties totaled £31.1m (Conservatives, £16.6m ($11.3m); Labour, £8m ($5.5m), and LibDems, £4.7m ($3.2m), respectively). In addition, there was a limit imposed of £19.5m ($13.3m) total

[38] To see the individual events and appearances, refer to: Torpey and Sax (2010. This number, however, may be slightly higher as – despite being the most comprehensive list available – several events where the leaders either spoke or made an appearance were not listed (for example, this list of appearances does not include the three national debates held between the three major party leaders). It is also possible that this is due to some differences in categorization (what counts and does not count as a campaign appearance).

[39] And that number is not included appearances during the primary season. However, with such a large discrepancy it is possible that this is due to the differences in categorizing or tracking the candidates' appearances. For example, the three national debates between the three major party leaders in the U.K. were not included on their list of appearances.

[40] This was true in during the 2008 U.S. Presidential election, but not 2010. In 2010, the British held their first ever 'series of three debates' between the leaders of the three major parties (Conservative, Labour, and LibDem). In fact, it is so 'American' that an additional point during the discussion of British elections 'becoming more American' is the fact that the leaders participated in debates. The telegraph, in reporting about the debates, criticized that there were those who "warned against the constitutional dangers of these debates, arguing that television tends to trivialise all it touches, and that unlike the United States we were not choosing a head of state but merely the prime minister of a cabinet, have now lost to the presidential system, and forever"; (see "General Election 2010," n.d.). In 2010 the British held their first set of [three] debates between the leaders of the three major parties (Conservative, Labour, and LibDem).

spending per party – roughly £30,000 ($24,000) per each of the 650 constituencies ("Party Spending…" 2010).

- The U.S. 2008 Presidential election, however, had record-setting amounts – in both amounts raised and spent. The total amount spent on the federal elections in 2008 was estimated to be near $5B[41] – *billion*. The Obama campaign raised $745m and spent $730m; McCain raised $368m and spent $333m. Additional spending included other Democrats ($311m during the nomination period), other Republicans ($248m during the nomination period), Senate and House Republicans (combined $1.5B), and the parties themselves (combined for $1.5B in support). The only federal limits set are those that are set as a condition for receiving public funding ($84.1m in public financing – which only McCain accepted)[42].

Interestingly enough, the trend of an increasingly lengthy campaign season (previously mentioned) also seems to be reflected in the amounts spent. The Center for Responsive Politics reports that the amount spent by Obama (in 2008) alone eclipses the $646.7m spent by Bush and Kerry combined during the previous election in 2004; and all candidates spent nearly $1.1B in 2008, but $820.3m in 2004, and only $500.9m in 2000 (Salant, 2008; "2008 Presidential Election, n.d.). And this trend extends to the parties and everything Federal election related as well (Cummings, 2008): $5.3B spent on Federal elections in 2008, but $4.2B in 2004, and only $2.4B in 2000 (reported by Polsby, et. al, as $4.5B, $3.4B, and $2.7B, respectively)[43]. And so, these lengthier seasons and vastly greater (and ever increasing) amounts to spend on the campaign[44] provide the opportunity for a wider variety of events

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[41] Center for Responsive Politics estimates $5.3B, and Polsby, et al., report it closer to $4.5B.
[42] There are different limits and rules that apply per state and according to what stage in the process (pre-nomination, post-nomination).
[43] Compare that with the *decrease* in spending for the U.K. general elections: £31.1m down from the £41.7m (Conservatives , £17.8m; Labour, £17.9m, and LibDems, £4.3m, respectively) reported in 2005.
[44] Even if one takes away the striking fundraising efforts (which, given they only have four weeks, the British *literally* do not have the time to hold as many fundraising events as the U.S. Candidates), the amount of public funding provided for U.S. campaigns ($84.1m in 2008) by far outweighs the amounts the respective parties are limited to spending (£19.5m

and meetings. And with more time in which to campaign (and more money with which to do it), candidates can – and do – do more.

All of these various factoids reflect (and are constitutive of, in some cases) the differences between these two systems. You can note, for example, that not only are the basic practices and processes used in these two systems for electing leaders different, those differences are reflected in the material conditions of the campaigns, and the access the public has to them. But the main distinction is not in these facts – but in the meetings and speeches that are a product or a result of these structures.

The two systems do actually have in common several election-related events where they deliver prepared remarks, for example:

- Conferences/Conventions with their respective party members – sharing, reaffirming, and debating the party's culture;
- Assemblies/Summits with coalitions and organizations – meet with and speak to members of coalitions and organizations with special(ized) interests;
- News/Press conferences with the media – a gathering of members of the mass media to draw [the media's] attention to a potential story (e.g., making announcements, communicating a stance on an issue, an emerging situation, etc.). These are intended for and aimed at the general public but dispersed by the media;
- Hustings events/Town [hall-style] sessions (debates, meetings, etc.) with constituents – formal or informal events designed for constituents to hear candidates (or party representatives) debate policies/issues and answer questions directly from voters.

But what are of more prominent concern, however, are the events born of these differences just outlined; the events unique to each system of election because of the distinct features described: (U.K.) party conferences and (U.S.) campaign rallies. Although we distinguish between 'a British system that elects a party' and 'an American system that elects individual candidate' (as distinctive for each of the respective systems), this is not enough to

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in 2010; roughly $28m). But the fact is, a lengthier campaign requires more money to fund it; but more funds also mean the campaign can go [even] longer.

distinguish the events and corresponding speeches. A speech is more than what it is 'about.' A speech has everything to do with its purpose (goals, aims), and how the speech reflects that in what happens; in other words, what it *does*. And what it does, what it sets out to accomplish, can only be determined by examining what actually transpires.

Comparing these two speech-giving environments at first appears much like comparing apples to oranges[45]. After all, one might be wondering if a better comparison could be – or should be – made between U.K. National Conferences with U.S. National Conventions (as grouped in the first bullet point). These meetings are both regular gatherings of party members and party officials; meetings where they debate, discuss, and reaffirm party culture; meetings that mark the end of one thing, and the beginning of another (end of one Parliamentary session to the beginning of another, and the end of the primary season to the beginning of the general election, respectively).

The basis for comparing speeches from the U.K. conferences to campaign rally speeches in the U.S. instead is twofold. First, the U.S. nominating convention is mostly ceremonial (the manifesto is not binding; the candidate being nominated is known beforehand; and most measures and policies are not handled at the convention). Second, these are the speeches where the work gets done – both do the work of 'campaigning.' But it is the *way* they get it done that differs. The focus and reason for the comparison – and one of the points of this research – is that they differ in purpose. A difference in purpose – as studies of institutional talk tell us – translates to a difference in structure and construct.

In the British system, speeches at the party conferences tend to focus on party policies – differences *within* the party as well as between parties – as part of an effort to

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[45] One would imagine that a better comparison could be made between U.K. National Conferences with U.S. National Conventions (as mentioned in the first bullet point); however, as previously noted, U.S. national party conventions are more of a ceremonial affair. And so despite being similar in form and structure (as far as the event is concerned), they differ greatly in terms of function. And in fact, the same argument has been made about the 'campaigns' of British politicians: ""; so in reality, most of the work for an election is done during the U.K. National Conferences and 'on the campaign trail' in U.S. elections.

shape the culture, policy, and platform of the party[46]. In the U.S., candidates at campaign events [held prior to the party conventions] reaffirm culture by establishing their basic positions on a range of political issues, and occasionally focus on their competitors (a focus that increases during the general election). Precisely because these events are geared to an election (or series of elections) of a specific *candidate* – rather than establishing a consensus view within the party, as in the British system – candidates appeal directly to voters. Thus, while speakers at British Party Conferences seek to *persuade* fellow party members (who are already present at the conference) to adopt specific positions within the conference, candidates in the American system attempt *mobilize* potential voters (who may be at the event or viewing remotely on TV) over the course of a very long campaign to go to the polls and vote for them at some future date. So while the research on the generic displays of [collective] approval laid a solid foundation, this research aims to demonstrate that campaign rallies serve a unique purpose – and one that is unique to the American system of elections; and that unique purpose is reflected, produced, and reinforced by the unique structure of the exchange to which participants orient their behavior.

So, in one respect the speeches at these rallies attempt to communicate a sense of the candidates' character and beliefs – as a basis for their political claims and aspirations. In another respect these campaign rallies are, among other things, gatherings used to raise and/or maintain morale and support for the campaign/candidate in an attempt to galvanize the support base. In yet another respect, these rallies are where attendees demonstrate their support for the candidate. All of this gets accomplished through the interaction. So the unique design of the exchange is due to the different goals and aims as well as the different role these particular events play in the campaign, in a specific type of election process.

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[46] In fact, the Labour Party Conference is "the policy-making unit of the party" (http://www.labour.ie/party/structure/). The conference *literally* is where the decisions for the party are made. The Conservatives, however, have a centralized leadership in the Party Board, which takes under advisement what conference has to say on matters. The work by Atkinson (1984a, 1984b) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) point out the relevance and importance of speeches/applause as an indication of the relative support a particular policy or idea has (i.e., campaign within the party for an issue). We will return to this issue in the next chapter.

It is this unique occasion with its unique purpose that gives rise to the specialized speech exchange system and participation framework; where the distinctiveness of rally speeches can be found in the types of sequences initiated by the speaker, the overall structure, its relationship to the campaign as a whole – and even some of the ways in which rules are enforced or violated. And this is what we will begin to unpack. Initial research on speeches and the generalized forms of response (of collective appreciation) – and the forms to which they respond – *in one particular context* sets a great foundation and basis for examining speeches in another. Now that we know the ways in which the systems and meetings differ, one way in which to see just *how* it matters is to examine the structures that organize the participants' conduct, the systems and structures to which participants orient. In what is to follow, we break down the issues discussed into the basic features, normative organization, and internal structure. Chapter 2 will take a comprehensive look at the basic features and fundamental characteristics of a campaign rally speech as an institutional form. This includes how the occasion fits within the scope of [a campaign in] an American Democratic system of election/s. Chapter 3 will identify the normative organization that underpins that institutional form; how the system works when all of the features described (in Chapter 2) come together. In addition, we examine the normative form of the occasion as evidenced by things that go awry – the contingencies that can arise and the efforts to maintain or return to that normative form. Chapter 4 examine the different sorts of social relations politicians establish with the constituents they serve through the forms they use in these events, and how those can also shape – even transform – the opportunities and bases for public participation; grounding the analysis in the responses from the audience/s. We conclude (in Chapter 5) with a summary of the issues established and the contributions made, and consider the implications of this research's findings on future research in this area. This includes expanding on Atkinson's work on charismatic authority, looking at the larger structures of the speech and how they might fit together in ways that are beneficial as well as detrimental (i.e., sequen*tial* organization as well as the campaign's overall organization over the course of an entire campaign), and

finally what sorts of things might we find by applying the same type of analysis to other forms of 'campaign talk' (e.g., infotainment interviews, town hall meetings – both speeches and debates); ultimately reflecting back on this notion of the decline in oratory, addressing the notions that the reason for the decline in oratory is due to the fact that speakers no longer know who they are addressing and have no common allusions to make [to them] – and whether this is indeed the case, or not.

CHAPTER 2 - CAMPAIGN RALLY SPEECHES:

Basic Features and Fundamental

Characteristics

What exactly is a campaign rally? How does it fit within and what purpose does it serve in an election campaign? How do we recognize and distinguish it from other types of events where a speaker delivers prepared remarks? And what about the speeches? In what ways do they reflect and reinforce the purpose of such events? In races for national political office (as in presidential campaigns) campaign rallies are events put on by political candidates and their supporters as part of a larger, more complex effort (involving political parties, campaign donors and others) to encourage potential voters to cast their vote for the candidate. The central focus of these events is the candidate's campaign speech. While such speeches have been understood as part of an effort to inform the audience of the candidate's views or positions on various political issues, their delivery in a "rally" reflects a range of other aims, such as mobilizing those present (or watching) to join the campaign, as well as communicating the breadth and depth of the candidate's popularity among members of the public. It is these features of such "rallies" that lead reporters, attendees, and viewers to compare them to other events in the following ways:

- "The UCLA teach-in often was more like a rally than an academic exercise." – *Stuart Silverstein, LA Times* (February 22, 1997)
- "The news conference seemed more like a rally than a farewell…" – *John W. Fountain, NY Times (August 9, 2001*)

- "Her speech sounded more like a rally than a denouement." – *Ina Jaffe, NPR* (June 5, 2008)
- "I was kind of bothered by the whole thing. The cheering and booing seemed more like a rally than a memorial service." – *Angi* (user), (January 12, 2011)

What do the participants at such events do that prompts these reporters to compare the event to a rally? What happens during a rally that makes it uniquely identifiable in this way?

Using what we know about speeches as a backdrop, we begin to unpack these issues by examining the basic characteristics and fundamental features of campaign rally speeches. While some of these features and characteristics have been discussed in prior research (e.g., that there is a "speaker" and an "audience," that audiences applaud, that the level of response is a barometer of appeal, etc.) these elements have largely been used in a taken-for-granted way. This chapter will show that campaign rallies constitute a distinct institutional form (or type of occasion) the features of which can be uncovered by examining how participants manage the basic contingencies associated with delivering prepared remarks to a co-present audience. Drawing on the distinct features of American presidential elections (as compared with British Parliamentary elections) discussed in the introduction, this chapter will examine how those features are reflected in, and consequential for, the events and exchanges that comprise campaign rallies as occasions for interaction. In this way the chapter shows how the occasion of a speech (e.g., at a campaign rally or party conference speech) shapes some of the basic aims of the speaker, how the participants (i.e., speaker and audience members) organize their contributions, and types of actions – and sequences of actions – that speakers and audience members produce. The next two sections will cover the following:

(1) The aspects of residential campaigns (and the larger political forms of which they are a part) that shape campaign rallies as occasions for interaction. This includes the features of the U.S. electoral processes and the emergence of campaign rallies as events central to presidential campaigns; how the features of the U.S. electoral (and party) system give rise to the set of distinctive concerns addressed by speakers (and participants) at

campaign rallies. In addition I will identify, in basic terms, what happens at a campaign rally. This includes the basic physical configuration of the occasion, who participates in these events (i.e., the various roles of the participants), and how rallies are composed as a series of events. Our primary aim in laying out this range of issues in this way will be to consider how these features matter for the exchanges between speaker and audience that occur in them.

(2) How are campaign rallies organized as institutionally oriented occasions for interaction? What does the participation framework (that characterizes these occasions) look like, and how does the distinctive speech exchange system organize opportunities for participation for speakers and audience members?

Taken together, addressing these two sets of questions allow me to identify the "institutional fingerprint" (Drew and Heritage, 1992) of the campaign rally as an occasion for interaction and specify how basic aspects of its organization reflect the exigencies of modern presidential campaigns in the United States.

2.1 ELECTION CAMPAIGN RALLY: CREATING AN OCCASION FOR AFFILIATION

In this section we examine the larger political process that campaign rallies are a part of. As noted in the introduction, the different political systems that emerged in the U.S. and the U.K. have contributed to the emergence of very different processes for selecting the country's leaders. This, in turn, is reflected in the very different gatherings – party meetings versus campaign rallies – with different occasions for speech giving that involve different participants, and distinct purposes. Understanding these differences is essential because much of what we know about speeches emerged from studies of party conferences in the U.K.; and as we will see, campaign rally speeches in the U.S. have significantly different features. To identify the differences between these two events (campaign rally speeches and speeches as party conference meetings) we will briefly review the different electoral systems in the U.K. and the U.S. and consider how the circumstances surrounding the events

discussed give rise to differing purposes for those events. Then we examine how that impacts the participants' respective relevant identities and roles in the event.

2.1.1 Comparing Electoral Processes: Circumstances, Occasions, and Purposes

As described in the introduction, the election processes for selecting the country's leaders are quite different. In the U.K.'s Parliamentary system, voters elect members of a party to Parliament and the party that wins the most seats establishes a government, which includes selecting a Prime Minister to lead it. Because of this system, party membership is central to the electoral process. By contrast, the U.S. holds separate elections for the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Presidency. This shapes the degree to which candidates for these offices emphasize their party affiliation during the election. While party membership remains central in elections for the legislature because the majority party (i.e. the party winning the most seats) in the House and the Senate gets to select the leaders of those bodies, in their speeches at campaign rallies candidates for the President do not emphasize their party affiliation in the same way.

The method of election for the British system results in a political process that emphasizes party affiliation and party platforms (over candidates) in elections. Although constituents vote for their respective MPs, each MP counts towards the party's quest for a majority in Parliament. The party that wins the majority of these seats then selects a Prim Minister and forms the ruling government, or "Her Majesty's Government." In such a system, candidates running for a seat tend to coordinate their message/s (e.g., by emphasizing the party's "platform"), presenting a united vision of what the party will do if elected. This platform (the set of policies and laws the party will implement if it is elected and the basic values they represent) is debated and for the most part decided at the party's national conference. At these meetings, party leaders and candidates give speeches proposing various policies and ideas, and (as mentioned in Chapter 1) the applause these proposals attract are treated as a key barometer of the audience's support for them. Thus, how the crowd registers their preference for a particular policy or position can influence

both the policies selected by a party and how these policies will be formulated and presented to the public in the course of the campaign. As a consequence, politicians' speeches in U.K. elections are generally 'party' focused. That is, the speeches are geared towards generating applause for specific policy proposals[47], and the views expressed by speakers are understood to reflect the party's position (e.g., rather than the speakers' personally held views). These features are reflected in the next four excerpts (which were also presented in the introduction):

(also previously ex. 1.01)

[ex. 2.01] (UK general election, 1979)
reprinted from Atkinson, (24) Steel

Steel: You know when the Guardian newspaper looked through the manifestoes last week for new ideas, they awarded us forty two points, against Labour's eleven and the Tories' Nine.

(also previously ex. 1.02)

[ex. 2.02] (UK general election, 1983)
reprinted from Atkinson, 1984 (2) Thatcher

Thatcher: There's no government anywhere that is tackling the problem with more vigour, imagination and determination than this Conservative government.

[47] As mentioned, the popularity of certain proposals determines what goes in the party's platform – whose positions/speeches contribute can be more influential or given more influential positions in the party.

(also previously ex. 1.03)

[ex. 2.03] (Labour: Tape 7: Constitution: Helen Osborn)
reprinted from Heritage and Greatbatch, (6)

Osborn: The wa:y to fight Thatcher
(0.4)
is not through the silent conformity of the
graveyard,
(0.5)
but by putting party policies (0.2)
powerfully and determinedly from the front
bench.

Audience: hear [hear

Audience: [hear [hear

Audience: [Applause

(also previously ex. 1.04)

[ex. 2.04] "Vote Conservative" (simplified) ~ D. Cameron
April 06, 2008 – South Bank, London (address)

01 Cam: There is a today a modern Conservative
02 alternative that has got the leadership,
03 that's got the energy, that's got the
04 values, to get this country moving.
05 And if you vote Conservative, you are voting
06 for hope, you're voting for optimism, you're
07 voting for change, you're voting for the
08 fresh start this country, our country so

badly needs. And don't let anybody tell you, don't let anybody tell you that there is no real choice this election. There is a real choice. It's not just five more years of Gordon Brown, or real change with the Conservatives. When it comes to our economy there is a real choice. There is the Labor way of more debt and more taxes and more waste, or there is the Conservative way of saying no, we've got to stop that waste, to stop Labor's job tax, which would wreck our recovery. And look what's happened in the last few weeks. Leaders of some of Britain's biggest and most successful businesses saying that when it comes to getting our recovery going it is the Conservatives that got it right and it's Labor who've got it wrong. Think about what Labor are saying to people in this country. They're saying we want to go on wasting your money, and then we're gonna put up your taxes. We say no. Every family in our country has had to make savings. Every business in our country has had to make savings. Why should government be any different. And there is real choice

This emphasis on party over person is retained even when MPs campaign in their respective constituencies. Although the candidate's name will be listed on the ballot, candidates nevertheless focus on the party in their speeches. For example, during the 2005 general

election, during a hustings event for the Selby seat held at the University of York, Ian Cutherberson introduces himself. When he talks politics he frames it topically by starting with “Lib-Dems” (at arrowed lines 17-18); and when he does talk [personally] how he came to be a Liberal-Democrat (at lines 19-27 and especially arrowed lines 28-30) it turns quickly to talk about Lib-Dem policies (arrowed lines 34-36, and 40-41):

[ex. 2.05] “Young people” (simplified) ~ I. Cuthbertson (Lib-Dem)
April 28, 2005 — Univ. of York (Hustings)

```
01    Cth:     Well good eve(ning) everybody, and uh
02             James thank you for that warm welcome.
03             Uh, as James said, I’m a counselor in
04             York, and my career’s been in computing.
05             Ehm, I believe as a professional I should
06             be involved in delivering knowledge
07             that’s associated with the profession to
08             new professionals. So about twelve years
09             ago I started teaching part-time and uh I
10             teach part-time at York Saint John. No
11             need to boo at that. Um, that’s a great
12             pleasure for me, part-time lecturing
13             because it keeps me in touch with what
14             younger people are thinking. Younger
15             people, younger people physically. I
16             don’t think mentally because for me age
17         --> is just a matter of state of mind. Lib-
18         --> Dems, I- I wasn’t a pol- uh a politician
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19              umtil my probleh=my forties. Politics
20              came to me. It does come to you you know,
21              you don't go to it. It comes to you. Uh,
22              in my in my forties. And eh it was when
23              my partner said to me "you know, I'm
24              surprised (at) you, you haven't joined
25              the Liberal-Democrats. And um, we
26              talked about it a bit, and uh it did
27              actually realize, uh I did realize that
28          --> my thoughts and my views did chime with
29          --> Lib-Dem policy. And uh since then I've
30          --> been a member of the Lib-Dems and I've
31              now been a member for I think twelve
32              years. And (um/I'm) thoroughly enjoying
33              it. But another reason why I'm a member
34          --> (of/for) the Lib-Dems is because Lib-Dem
35          --> policies are actually re- designed to
36          --> address real problems. They're not a
37              bit of hype, that you can ta- you know
38              just come out on the platform. They're
39              actually real problems designed to solve
40          --> solve d- real pro- real solutions for
41          --> real problems of real people. .mt .hh So
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So even when giving a speech to introduce themselves [to the public] at hustings events, though they speak a little more about themselves (and their beliefs) and target a more localized audience with specialized interests[48], the focus is still on the party (and the

[48] For example, after a five-minute introduction by each candidate, this college student audience heard the candidates' [party's] views on the war in Iraq and tuition/student fees

opposition party). Even what they say about themselves is framed by how it aligns with the party's interests or how they orient to the party's campaign or policies. For example, the candidate that spoke immediately following Cuthbertson – the incumbent, John Grogan – opens his speech with the reasons why he thinks voters should vote for Labour. When Grogan references a vote for himself, he attaches that to a vote for Labor (arrowed lines 08-09); he references retaining not "his seat" but "a seat for Labour" (arrowed lines 22-23); and when he talks about his passion/s (first at line 04-05), they are expressed in terms of the party (again at arrowed lines 30-31).

[ex. 2.06] "Vote Labour" (simplified) ~ J. Grogan (Labour)
April 28, 2005 — Univ. of York, Heslington (Hustings)

```
01    Gro:     Uh well thank you for that invi- eh
02             introduction, and I've really been looking
03             forward to tonight. Uh for a couple of
04             reasons. One I want to explain three
05             passionate reasons that I believe in, why I
06             would hope the progressive voter of the
07             University, uh those that count themselves
08        -->  as progressive, would vote for me and vote
09        -->  Labour this election because you could
10             determine it. And the second reason I was
11             looking forward to it was it was this night
12             at the last election campaign that the real
13             campaign came alive on campus. In a slightly
14             unexpected way for me, glad to see these big
15             fellahs at the side because uh one student
16             eh hit me on the head with an egg. Someone
```

(one such instance: Cuthbertson said his party would scrap all fees; that "Education is a right not a privilege… based on ability, not ability to pay.").

17 then threw flour. And the local newspaper
18 ran a very helpful editorial the next day
19 saying all we need is some milk and he's a
20 right Yorkshire pudding. And so I remember
21 the debate last time. But the three reasons
22 --> that I'm really passionate about trying to
23 --> retain this seat for labour, and it really
24 will be either me or Mark, according to
25 elector arithmetic really, who will win it,
26 are as follows. And I don't suppose Tony
27 Blair will be coming to support my campaign
28 in the last few days, and I did vote against
29 Iraq and against top-up fees, but these
30 three reasons are why I'm passionate and
31 --> proud to be a Labour politician. Firstly
32 poverty. If anything drove me to poverty

Now compare both Cuthbertson's and Grogan's 'introductory' remarks with those from a U.S. candidate for President. During Barack Obama's speech announcing his candidacy he tells the audience[49] his story about how he came to be running for President. At no point does he mention of the party, the party's policies, or how his story aligns with the party:

[ex. 2.07] "My story" (simplified) ~ B. Obama
Feb. 10, 2007 – Springfield, IL (announce)

01 Oba: That's the journey we're on today. But let

[49] In transcript, "AUD" will be used to represent the collective response of the audience. The use of "Aud" in the transcript denotes collective responses of audience members that nevertheless fall short of a full audience response (as an "AUD" would indicate). Finally, "A/m" denotes a single "audience member." For a complete list of other representations or notations in the transcript, please review Appendix A.

02 me tell you how I came to be here. As most
03 of you know, I am not a native of this great
04 state.
05 A/m: •that's alright!•
06 Oba: I- (*b*)hhhhh ((*laughs*))
07 Aud: ((laughter))
08 A/m: •(you are now!)•
09 Oba: HUH-EH. I moved to Illinois over two
10 decades ago. I was a young man then, just
11 a year out of college; I knew no one in
12 Chicago when I arrived wi-, was without
13 money or family connections. But a group
14 of churches had offered me a job as a
15 community organizer for the grand sum of
16 $13,000 a year.
17 Aud: ((mild cheers))
18 Oba: And I accepted the job, sight unseen,
19 motivated then by a single, simple, powerful
20 idea - that I might play a small part in
21 building a better America. My work took me
22 to some of Chicago's poorest neighborhoods.
((80+ lines, 3:00+ - Obama continues*))

* For several more minutes (in the 80+ more lines omitted) he continues his story of the people he has encountered, how he ended up in law school, and eventually how he came to be a politician now running for President of the United States.

So, in the U.S., candidates for the presidency tend to emphasize their individual identities and experiences over their party affiliation/s. In this respect voters elect a candidate rather than a party. In fact, sometimes voters elect candidates *despite* their party

affiliation[50]. In addition, as noted in the introduction, there is a much looser coupling between the party platform and the policies proposed by candidates in their campaigns. Instead, campaign events are geared to the news cycle, with the aim of using nightly coverage[51] as a form of free advertising for their positions and to mobilize support for the candidate. In this respect, campaigns for the presidency tend to be candidate focused, rather than party [or platform] focused[52]. And so, each candidate speaks on their own behalf: their experience, their thoughts and beliefs, and their plans and goals – as shown in the next two excerpts (also listed in the introduction):

(also previously ex. 1.05)

[ex. 2.08] "I know" (simplified) ~ J. McCain

Feb 19, 2008 – Columbus, OH (WI Primary rally)

01	McC:	My friends, I know what our military can
02		do, what it can do better, and what it
03		should not do. I know how Congress works
04		and how to make it work for the country,
05		and not just for the re-election of its
06		members. I know how the world works. I know
07		the good and the evil in it. I know how to
08		work with leaders who share our dreams of
09		a freer, safer and more prosperous world
10		and how to stand up to those who don't.

[50] For example, during the 2008 election such voters were known as "Obamicans" – self-proclaimed Republicans voting for Obama, despite his Democratic standing.
[51] And in recent years the Internet has become an invaluable platform.
[52] This is especially the case during the primaries. Explicitly touting the merits of the party or the party's ideals (the platform) might not be an effective strategy – and in some cases could be favorable to other candidates – given that these are things shared in common with their 'competitors' in the primary. Rather, candidates reference the party only subtlely by establishing their positions (which happen to be in line with the party's). We will revisit this issue in subsequent sections.

(also previously ex. 2.06)

[ex. 2.09] "I want" (simplified) ~ H. Clinton

June 03, 2008 — New York, NY (SD Primary rally)

01	HCl:	You know, I understand that that a lot of
02		people are asking, "What does Hillary want?
03		What does she want?" Well, I want what I
04		have always fought for in this whole
05		campaign. I want to end the war in Iraq.
06	AUD:	APPLAUSE
07	HCl:	I want to turn this economy around. I want
08		health care for every American. I want every
09		child to live up to his or her God-given
10		potential. And I want the nearly 18 million
11		Americans who voted for me to be respected,
12		to be heard, and no longer to be invisible.

Of course the different ways that parties and candidates are emphasized in these two systems are not the only ways campaigns – and the events that comprise them – differ in these two countries. The lengths of the campaigns are very different: in the U.K. campaigns are conducted over a short period of time, while modern presidential campaigns can take as much as a year or more. They also differ in the types of events at which candidates present their views to the public. While some types of gatherings can be found in both systems (e.g., conferences/conventions with fellow party members, assemblies/summits with coalitions and organizations, news/press conferences, and hustings events/town [hall-style] sessions), there is one type of gathering that appears to be unique to campaigns for the presidency in the U.S. – the campaign rally speech. This type of event, and how it is adapted to the demands of the U.S. election system, has a range of

unique features that shapes who can (legitimately) participate in it, and the range of actions those participants can engage in. But before we can fully explore this, let us take a look at exactly what a campaign rally is – and what it is not.

The speeches analyzed by Atkinson are described as taking place in "large scale party rallies" and speeches from the U.K. general election (1984a:12). In addition, a few mentions can be found in various publications/in the press of British politicians making appearances at 'rallies,' or engaged in "rallying"[53]. Nevertheless, despite the use of "rally" in naming/describing these events, their basic characteristics and features seem to be very different from the sort of occasions we find described as "campaign rallies" in modern presidential campaigns in the US. In what follows, we will primarily focus on the U.S. campaign rally speech.

RAL·LY /ralē/

verb 1. (of troops) come together again in order to continue fighting after a defeat or disperson; bring together (forces) again in order to continue fighting; assemble in mass meeting; bring or come together to support a person or cause or for concerted action.
2. recover or cause to recover in health, spirits, or poise; (of share, currency or commodity prices) increase after a fall.

noun 1. a mass meeting of people making a political protest or showing support for a cause.
2. a competition for motor vehicles in which they are driven a long distance over public roads or rough terrain, typically in stages and through checkpoints.

Figure 2.1 "Rally" Definition
Source: Oxford Dictionary for American English.

According to the Oxford Dictionary for American English, to 'rally' is to gather around a common cause – to boost morale, in support or in recovery; or, it is an event – either where large groups of people gather around a common [political] cause or a long-

[53] Although they share some common elements (which allow them to be referred to in almost the same way), without a full and comprehensive comparison of the actual 'talk' from both events, it would not be possible to speculate about what exactly those events would entail. However, despite using the British speeches as a backdrop (for the sole reason that they are the basis for previous research), this research is not an analysis of those events and speeches, nor a comparison of the two events'/systems' versions of rallies. For now, suffice it to say, these events are different.

distance competition/race composed of multiple stages[54]. In general, a political rally is a mass meeting of people making a protest or demonstrating support for a particular issue or cause. It can be very simple (just a meeting in a strategic location with supporters holding signs), or it can be much more involved (full program of speakers, a hefty recruitment effort, etc.). It can be a simple demonstration, or an effort at concerted action. The purpose is to show support for a cause or issue by literally demonstrating the public's support for it through 'strength in numbers.' Given what we know of the U.S. election process and the circumstances behind the events that the campaigns opt to have, it is not hard to see how a 'rally event' fits with campaign needs.

At its core, a campaign rally confronts some of the issues surrounding and demands of campaigning for President in the current system (which is why it is not a feature in a U.K. election[55]). In the representative democratic system, rather than vote on every single issue we elect officials to do that for us. Therefore, candidates need events where voters can hear their take on the issues, get to know them, so that candidates can get their support (i.e., vote) in the coming election. As the general public is voting for a candidate and not a party [with an accountable platform], face-to-face encounters with the candidate give voters a chance to meet and on some level engage with the candidate – to hear what they have to say and to get to know the person. Meeting with candidates or going to hear them speak can be traced back as far as the early 19th century, when politicians gave "stump speeches[56]" while campaigning. Travelling to speak with or to voters was the method of campaigning (and is still a major part) and was most important in new territories (see "Stump," n.d. and McNamara, n.d.)[57], where voters might not know them or know of them. And so although the

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[54] Perhaps not a coincidence that the term 'rally' was selected to describe the type of campaign event

[55] But as mentioned, this is not to say they do not have rally events; they simply do not have the particular sort to which we refer. We will briefly address this issue shortly, and then again in a subsequent section.

[56] Although still referenced today, a 'stump speech' has evolved to refer mostly to a standardized speech delivered while campaigning.

[57] However, campaign rallies are akin to these – if not a derivative of – as they share similar qualities. We will return to this issue later.

import of the applause/response is parallel in that the audiences' responses provide a measure of a candidate's (and her policies) popularity and support, it is however not identical in that the emphasis on one's personal positions creates a much more complicated relationship between the candidate and those in attendance (and therefore, what the candidate says; i.e., the speech, and the audience's response/s)[58].

This is perhaps one of the many reasons the campaign season is so long (and, as mentioned in the introduction, getting longer)[59]: with so many areas of the country to visit, an ever-increasing population, more competition, more money, and more complicated relationships between candidate and voter, candidates have more areas to cover and more voters to meet. And though it may seem beneficial for the candidates to meet with more voters and making more appearances, the length of moderns campaigns also come with costs. One consequence of the lengthiness of these campaigns is the possibility of fatigue – not only on the part of the candidate but also on the part of voters/supporters inundated by the coverage (both of which have been well documented; c.f., Leibovich, 2008; Johnson, 2007; Weisman, 2008; Whitelaw, 2008).

In this respect campaign rallies serve a dual purpose: (i) They allow voters to meet with candidates and hear directly from them and (ii) these events can be used to generate [energetic] support for the campaign and/or sustain its momentum by boosting public support and morale over the course of the year [or more]. Given the fact that attendees at these rallies are not voting immediately following the events (as they do at party meeting or

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[58] Additionally, as mentioned and as we will see in the forthcoming sections (specifically, section 2.2.2 and Chapter 3), the distinctive organization and the production of the candidate's perspective also create a distinct course of action that makes relevant a range of different responses (whereas the studies on British conferences address only one type of collective response that is made relevant (i.e., 'applause')). Adding an additional layer of complexity [to the situation], more recently the broadcast of such events (in both mainstream [news cycles] and social media) conveys for the at-home/overhearing audience some sense of how the candidate's points are appreciated (see Clayman and Atkinson) and the support she has – making mobilization a much more central issue for the occasion as well as the sequences of which the occasion is composed.

[59] In addition to other several factors (e.g., increased pool of primary candidates, states moving their primaries sooner in the season to have more of an impact on the results, media coverage, technology), as mentioned in the introduction.

conventions), candidates need events that will inspire attendees to support the campaign (or even join it) until the election. These events can be useful during the lengthy primary season where it can add a little excitement to the over-exposure people can feel over the course of a drawn-out campaign [season] filled with ads, reports, interviews, press conferences, and debates. They can be especially useful because of the constant ups and downs of the campaign: making the most of the enthusiasm that follows primary victories or spikes in the polls, and allowing candidates to rebuild morale following a primary loss or a report of a drop in the polls. Campaign rallies are a way to 'whip' or 'push'[60] the campaign forward [to the next campaign stop or event].

As one might imagine, based on the different political systems in the U.S. and the U.K., the different ways that parties matter for them, and the different lengths of the campaigns, the events at which candidates give speeches are also very different. The way these events contribute to campaigns (e.g., as events where party platforms are established or where candidates introduce themselves to voters and generate support for them) and the roles speeches play in them, also has consequences for who attends these events (i.e., who is in the audience) and how the forms of collective response they produce matters for them. So before we can begin to unpack how that matters for the exchanges between speaker and audience (and thus how speakers exploit the occasion of speech giving) it will be useful to briefly introduce the participants in such events, their respective roles, and how are audiences composed.

2.1.2 ELECTION CAMPAIGN RALLIES: THE PARTICIPANTS' IDENTITIES, ROLES, AND CONFIGURATION

In order to understand campaign rallies as institutionally organized occasions for interaction we need to understand who participates in these occasions – not in terms of the demographic characteristics of the attendees, but in terms of the situationally specific identities one can enact within them. As you recall, one's situated ID is the identity relevant

[60] A reference to maneuvers in roller derby where a player uses their own speed to transfer or pass their momentum on to a teammate, thereby propelling her forward at a faster rate.

for a specific type of occasion. In other words, in this moment, the participants are here in a particular [institutional] capacity; and it is the participants' orientations to these identities that shape how they participate in the exchanges that comprise the occasion.

In the U.K., party conferences are closed events requiring an application/pre-approval or pre-registration in order to attend. The attendees at the party conferences are either selected as representatives to attend (by constituency parties) or those approved by the organizing committee. This includes two types of attendees, 'participating' (delegates, party members, student members, ex-officers, etc.) and 'non-participating' (media, commercial visitors/vendors/exhibitors, etc.). The 'participants' in the meeting are in attendance at these events *as* party members, and thus are there for a common, collaborative purpose. The measures and resolutions are presented to party members prior to the event, and the organizers then determine which of these will be discussed and by whom. By contrast, in the U.S., campaign rallies are (ostensibly) open events (e.g., they are supposed to be open to the general public); only in some cases organizers may require prospective attendees to pre-register for the event, for example when the venue for the rally has a limited capacity. In this respect, such events are not exclusive. Attendance usually involves something as simple as 'getting a ticket' at some point prior to the event date. These events also have non-participants (media, vendors, etc.), but as they are relatively casual and smaller in scale (and occur more frequently) these attendees are usually smaller in numbers. The campaign staff and the candidate generally determine the agenda for the rally, and especially who will be giving a speech. And typically (but not always[61]) the 'headline' event of the rally is an appearance – a speech – by the candidate. By virtue of these different features, just who participates in these types of events, how they participate

[61] It is not uncommon for other well-known politicians or political figures to go and campaign for candidates. For example, Michelle Obama and President Bill Clinton were prominent figures on the campaign trail, speaking at rallies on their spouse's behalf. And in other Federal elections (Senate, etc.), sitting Presidents often speak at rallies and campaign on behalf of candidates. These are not the focus of this research as the dynamics are slightly different, though a few instances are included where the issue is a generic rally issue (not candidate-as-speaker-specific issue).

in them, and how their conduct (e.g., in speeches or the forms of collective appreciation such speeches are designed to occasion) matters for them, differs considerably.

(THE SPEAKER) In these sorts of events, there is one person who commands most of the attention and speaking time. The role of this person – the "speaker" – is pretty simple and straightforward. The speaker is the orator, the one delivering the speech. Just who speaks, and how their speech matters, is different for each system.

In British party conferences speakers are typically party representatives, giving speeches *as a party member* (i.e., speaking on different issues/topics facing the party, but all with the same purpose of debating party policies and values). At these events, speakers attempt to persuade others to adopt their policy positions as part of the party's platform[62]. By contrast, in U.S. campaign rallies, the [main] speaker is the candidate and the basic aim of the speech is to convince voters to support her by voting for her or joining her campaign. In this respect she is the one leading the charge, doing the 'boosting,' and attempting to mobilize others on her behalf. This is, in essence, the striking difference between the two: in one the speaker is presenting policy positions to others in an attempt to persuade them to adopt those views, in the other the candidate is presenting herself as a candidate, and attempting to get potential voters to support her and, ultimately, vote for her.

But what one does with and through the speech depends very much on who the intended recipient is. As Aristotle noted, "For of the three elements in speech-making – speaker, subject, and person addressed – it is the last one, the hearer, that determines the speech's end and object" (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*).

(THE AUDIENCE) There are two categories of participants in the audience at speeches. One is the 'professional vs. lay' and the other is 'supporter/undecided/non-supporter.' Just which

[62] And in this way (as mentioned), attempting to demonstrate, exert, or establish their influence on and within the party and its policies (i.e., the platform).

of these is the salient identity for the audience is the most crucial for what transpires at these different events.

Given the formal nature of the proceedings (registration, formal agenda, etc.) at party conferences in the U.K. (and party conventions, in the U.S.), the audiences that assemble to hear speeches are of the "professional" type. That is, participants tend to be politicians or professionals who are involved in, familiar with, or closely tied to the process. These are persons who either have some role to play in the process/proceedings (e.g., a vote to cast), or have received an invitation from the party to attend the official meeting with and for a specific purpose (e.g., party members in attendance to establish party policy, delegates in attendance to officially nominate a candidate, etc.); in U.S. conferences and conventions, this type includes members of coalitions and special interest groups[63]. While such audience members are clearly members (or supporters) of the party, they are not necessarily aligned with the speaker or the policies and views she is presenting to them. In U.K. conferences, although audience members are aligned politically (as members of the same party), participants are there to debate policy. It is in this sense that speakers are attempting to sway the other participants on the issue through their oratory.

By contrast, in U.S. campaign rallies, attendance is open to the general public, and so audience members are typically comprised of lay participants. Participants and attendees at campaign events (especially rallies) tend not to be of the professional sort. While other politicians and members of organizations may attend these events, the bulk of the audience is (supposed to be) composed of everyday citizens attending the event to hear the candidate's views and/or show their support. Of course in practice, the sheer fact that an audience member has made the effort to attend a campaign rally demonstrates a level of

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[63] These groups (e.g., unions, associations, chambers of commerce, etc.) hold their own conferences and meetings with the [same] purpose of reaffirming their group's goals, pushing policy, or in some way supporting its members, and candidates/politicians are often invited to speak at these events as well. Though these are not the predominant type of party conference to which campaign rallies are contrasted, instances are included in the database as the central issue remains: speaker/candidate addressing a [possibly] mixed audience in an effort to push policy.

support for – and commitment to – the candidate that suggests they view the candidate favorably. Indeed, the size of the crowd attending such events is often taken as a barometer of public support for candidates. As a consequence, audience members at such rallies are made up of people from the general public (and some campaign staffers and other political organizers) who support the candidate. On some rare occasions audience members who support a rival candidate may show up to these events (with the aims of protesting, heckling, or otherwise disrupting these proceedings). As we shall see however, the negatively charged actions these participants produce are dealt with in a way that suggests that these events are primarily organized as occasions to 'bolster' the campaign and generate enthusiasm among the campaign supporters.

As we will see, who attends these events shapes the types of actions the speakers undertake (in Chapter 4), and the [different, or not] types of responses they make relevant (in section 2.2.2). Of much more immediate concern is how the participants coordinate opportunities for action: how does the speaker (and other members of the campaign) fashion an audience out of the individual laypersons (who may have little or no professional experience or exposure to the institutional nature or structure of an event) attending the event? How does the speaker (and other members of the campaign) manage to organize an occasion characterized by a *single joint focus of attention* out of a gathering comprised of many smaller parties engaged in separate conversations? We can begin to address this problem by considering how the physical layout of the occasion facilitates the audience's focus on the speaker.

(PARTICIPANT COMPOSITION AND CONFIGURATION) The typical campaign rally speech consists of a speaker and many individual audience members, with a ratio of "1 speaker : many audience members" – where the 'many' can range from a few hundred to several thousand persons. At such events the audience typically faces the speaker. This is for a variety of reasons. Most importantly, this allows the audience to see and hear the speaker. For example, in Figure 2.2, the audience is standing in front of, and looking towards, the speaker:

Figure 2.2 Audience faces speaker
Campaign rally for Governor Mike Huckabee in Lubbock, TX (February 29, 2008)
No photo credit listed[64]

And the speaker faces the audience – typically on a stage or riser, and/or standing behind a podium as she addresses them, as in Figure 2.3:

Figure 2.3 Speaker faces audience
Governor Sarah Palin speaks at a campaign rally in Cape Girardeau, MO (October 30, 2008).
Photo credit: Aaron Eisenhauer[65]

[64] Retrieved from: http://lubbockonline.com/stories/030108/loc_252628424.shtml

This set-up directs the audience's attention in one direction – and here one can see that the audience's attention is literally focused towards the stage and on the speaker. A set-up like this establishes a 'home' position for the audience, one that faces the speaker; and any attempt at redirecting their attention elsewhere would require them to either turn their body, or engage in a 'torque' of their position (c.f., Schegloff, 1998). Similar to other events with an audience, each audience member is seated (in some cases standing) facing the speaker so it minimizes the likelihood – or, at least a lengthy duration – of other engagements.

This set-up has the effect of creating two separate parties for the encounter, the audience and the speaker: it groups the audience members together as a one unit (a single, collective unit – "the audience") and the speaker as another. But it also separates the audience from the speaker[66]. This formal arrangement lends itself to the impression that this is no ordinary encounter, and as we will see later in this chapter it can facilitate certain behaviors from the speaker and constrains the conduct of audience members.

This set-up also provides different opportunities for politicians to exploit such occasions. Given that rally events are designed to show the 'support in numbers' a cause, issue, or candidate has, campaigns can *show* how much support their campaign has by literally demonstrating it in numbers. For example, Figure 2.4 below is an image of the audience facing the speaker from Obama's campaign rally that drew nearly 100,000 in St. Louis, MO. Compare this image to those shown in Figures 2.2 and 2.3 – it gives quite a different impression about the level of support one campaign has versus another.

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[65] Retrieved from: http://www.semissourian.com/gallery/3572

[66] We will show later in this chapter how this may be consequential for their behavior, and in the final Chapter (future research) we will discuss how this set up matters when we compare it to other occasions where the audience is seated together as a unit, but not separated from the speaker (for example, town-hall events where the audience have access to the candidate and engage in direct exchanges with her.

Figure 2.4 Audience faces speaker (exploited)
Campaign rally for Senator Barack Obama with 100,000 in attendance in St. Louis, MO (October 18, 2008).
Photo credit: Jae C. Hong/AP Photo

Although campaigns cannot fabricate or manipulate the attendance for these types of events (e.g., they cannot force people to attend[67]), they can facilitate it by picking venues that allow for larger crowds, or ones that make smaller audiences to appear "packed in." For example, during the 2008 DNC in Denver, CO, the convention was held at the Pepsi Center, but the closing night's speeches – the acceptance speech – was, in an unprecedented move, switched to Invesco field so that the general public (i.e., ordinary voters) could attend. They called this an "Open Convention" – but many likened it to a rally event[68] (c.f., BBC News, 2008). Numbers like these not only attract the attention of voters, but of campaign contributors and the media as well. This is especially important because candidates often deliver "stump speeches" (comments heard at prior events, etc.) at smaller events, which no longer become "news." The attendance numbers at these larger events then *become the*

[67] Although in recent years there has been some controversy over "fake audiences" and "plants" in the audiences, for the most part this has been limited to events where those individual A/ms (the "plants") have had some direct impact on the event (e.g., asking a question, heckling the speaker, etc.). For example, a 19-year-old college sophomore reports being approached by a Clinton staffer gave her a question to ask (Welch and Schechter, 2007)

[68] We will explore this in more detail in subsequent sections.

story – the reason they get coverage. For example, Obama had record-breaking crowds in 2008. And those record-breaking numbers just kept increasing: there were 75,000 in attendance at a rally in Portland, OR (May, 2008); 84,000 at the "Open Convention" (DNC 2008); 100,000 in St. Louis, MO (October, 2008); and 150,000 in Denver, CO (October, 2008). And although not technically a campaign rally, 200,000 were in attendance to hear Obama speak in Berlin, German (July, 2008). Each of these was reported – in part due to the spectacular numbers; and as the numbers grew, so did the story. This gave the impression of both the vast level of support as well as its growth over time. The more news coverage these events generated – especially reports of the numbers of the support for the campaign – the better the campaign did with the public[69].

In recent decades, the set-up of the event has been exploited even further to include small portions of the candidate's supporters "placed" on risers behind the speaker. There can be no functional purpose to this, as the supporters on stage clearly would have no vantage point that would coincide with the purpose of the event (i.e., they cannot see the speaker speaking). This is purely for perception purposes: this tactic allows campaigns to show the people "behind the candidate" – that is, who is supporting her or him, as in Figure 2.5:

[69] In fact, in a search conducted for images to include in this section, hardly any reports or photos are posted of "small (scale)" rallies. There is no media coverage and no story when the numbers are small (except for 2012 rallies where the story was a comparison of the attendance in 2008 to that of 2012). And interestingly enough, even when these smaller events are covered in the live broadcasts or cable news, rallies with a smaller attendance do not have photos *of the crowds* released while the events with large numbers do. For example, McCain's rally in New Orleans, LA on June 03, 2008 – on the very night Obama became the official Democratic nominee; it was widely covered on various news programs, especially for its low attendance. However, an online search for photos of the crowd turned up no results.

Figure 2.5 Supporters behind speaker
Senator John McCain with supporters behind him at a rally in Cedar Rapids, IA (September 18, 2008).
No photo credit listed[70]

And in some cases, it enables the campaign to show the diversity of their supporters (Re, 2012), as in Figure 2.6:

Figure 2.6 Supporters behind speaker
Senator Barack Obama with supporters behind him at a campaign rally in Leesburg, VA (October 23, 2008). *Photo credit: Jacquelyn Martin/AP Photo*

[70] Retrieved from: http://jdeeth.blogspot.com/2008_09_01_archive.html

While all eyes and lenses stay focused on the speaker, this is also a way to have the cameras and news reports capture the support the campaign has without having to switch views or angles. Also, with so many of these events over the course of the campaign, it provides a different backdrop [for the "photo-op"] for every event. And even more recently, campaigns 'put on display' the professional supporters a candidate has (political figures, staff, family, etc.) by placing them on stage, standing directly behind her. Sometimes these are professional political figures, as in Figure 2.7 where Hillary has standing on stage with her – in addition to the supporters in risers behind her – former President Clinton, former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and then Governor of N.Y. David Paterson, among others:

Figure 2.7 Professional Supporters behind speaker
Senator Hillary Clinton speaks at a campaign rally in Des Moines, IA (January 3, 2008).
Photo credit: Matthew Putney, Lee News Service

Celebrities can also lend their notoriety, as in Figure 2.8 where Mike Huckabee stands with Chuck Norris on stage directly behind him:

Figure 2.8 Celebrity Supporters behind speaker
Governor Mike Huckabee at a campaign rally in Des Moines, IA (January 3, 2008).
Photo credit: Cliff Hawkins/Getting Images News

However, this tactic is not without its critics. Some have challenged whether this is an effective strategy. For example, Max Atkinson, argues that, "it's not just that it looks odd (and arguably completely unnatural) to see someone making a speech with his back to so many members of the audience, it's also a risky and distracting strategy" (Atkinson, 2010 February 28)[71]. However, Atkinson's comments primarily focus on conference meetings rather than campaign rallies. Candidates (and their advisors) clearly believe that they can use these formations to convey something about their campaigns (e.g., how is supporting them, and how enthusiastically). Thus, having supporters placed behind the speaker gives everyone watching – the audience (both present and at-home), potential contributors, the media, and the competition – a visual of just who is "behind the candidate."

Now that we have some understanding of the identities of the participants, their roles, and orientations [of their attention, gaze, etc.], we can begin to examine how this is all bears on the different ways in which the respective parties can participate in such

[71] For instance: recall the now famous Tyler Crotty, a young kid bored and attempting to keep himself awake while onstage during a speech by President George W. Bush.

occasions. So just as the campaigns can exploit the physical setup of the campaign event to *demonstrate* support, so too they exploit the moment by moment flow of the occasion – and specific moments and events within them – for political ends (which we will see in Chapter 4). But these moments have to be coordinated within a speech exchange system that distributes opportunities for participation. How do they do that?

2.2 THE CAMPAIGN RALLY SPEECH: STRUCTURE AND PARTICIPATION

Although the circumstances surrounding the event and the roles of the participants are indeed essential in shaping the occasion, the central factor in identifying some exchange as in fact a campaign rally speech is the exchange itself – in other words, its 'institutional fingerprint.' As previously mentioned, compared with ordinary conversation, institutional interaction involves specific reductions to the range of options available to participants in conversation. As a result, participants' behaviors are modified in such a way to reflect the particular needs or goals (i.e., purpose) of the institution, of the participants' identities and their roles in it. This next section explicates just how campaign rally speeches differ from ordinary conversation, and what this unique system and its set of interactional practices entail.

2.2.1 TURN TAKING AND CAMPAIGN RALLY SPEECHES

For any interaction, the turn taking system provides the opportunity to participate by regulating *how* and *when* one gets to participate; the participation framework connects who/the local identity to the turn specific details of the turn-taking system. The system for ordinary conversation is the baseline (or "default")[72] exchange system. It is the starting point for all modified (or institutionalized) systems, and the specific modifications made tell us quite a bit about the institution itself.

[72] By baseline or 'default' it means the system on which all others are based. Modifications or specifications are made to the base system in order to produce a specialized system; and when the formal nature of the others is abandoned (for whatever reason), they revert back to the structure of ordinary conversation (i.e., the default system).

In the basic [conversational] system, turn construction and turn allocation are locally managed, one transition place at a time. Put very simply, a turn consists of at least one unit, called a turn constructional unit (or "TCU"), which can vary (e.g., sentence, phrase, clause, or word). Taking a turn confers both the entitlement and obligation to produce at least one TCU, which – upon its deployment – projects what it will take for it to be complete (e.g., grammar, context, etc.). It is by reference to this first possible completion that a change of speakership is coordinated (at what is called a "transition relevance place" – or "TRP"). Turn allocation has a range of options: it can either be managed prior to the TRP (or intra-turn; e.g., current speaker selects next) or at the TRP (e.g., self-selection by other). So in this system, the type, order, and length of an interlocutor's turn is then not fixed but entirely free to vary. Each turn is constructed and allocated one at a time, and for each turn a series of options are provided. And as we will see shortly, campaign rally speeches do not have such options.

As with other occasions of talk-in-interaction, speakers and audience members at campaign rallies coordinate participation via a system for distributing opportunities to participate (i.e., to produce actions). In some respects, the turn taking between participants *appears* conversational (e.g., with one party contributing at a time and transitions to a next participant emerging at the possible completion of units; see Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974). For example, excerpts 2.10 and 2.11 demonstrate some of the basic outcomes of the *conversational* turn taking system: exchanges between speaker and audience occurs (and recurs); where one speaks at a time (with recurrent speaker exchange); occurrences of more than one participant at a time are common, but brief; turn transitions occur near or at possible completions/transition relevant places with little to no gap. However, upon closer examination of the respective turns, these exchanges do *not* feature the range of options customary of ordinary conversation (e.g., where turn order, turn size, the length of the conversation, and 'turn-constructional units' are free to vary) but rather something quite different:

[ex. 2.10] "Tonight" ~ M. Romney

Jan 15, 2008 – Southfield, MI (Mich Primary)

01 Rom: Tonight, (1.1) .t! (0.8) tonight marks the
02 beginning of a comeback, (.) a comeback for
03 America.
04 AUD: CHEERS----------[clapping----------][73]
05 Rom: |- ((4.8)) -|[You know only, (0.3) only]
06 a week ago:, a=uh- a win looked like it was
07 impossible, .h! but then you got out and
08 to:ld America what they needed to hear.
09 AUD: CHEERS----------[clapping----------]
10 Rom: |- ((6.0)) -| [You said we would fight]

[ex. 2.11] "Ohio" ~ H. Clinton

Mar 04, 2008 – Columbus, OH (Ohio Primary)

01 HCl: You know what they say. As Ohio goes, <so
02 goes, the nation.>
03 AUD: ROAR---((4.1))--[cheers-((4.8))[clapping---
04 HCl: |- ((9.9)) -|[Well, (0.3)
05 this nation's coming ba:ck, and so is this
06 campaign.
07 AUD: ROAR---((4.7))--[cheers-((5.0))[----------
08 HCl: |- ((9.7)) -|[The peopl:e,

[73] But as we will see later in this chapter, there are a few instances of 'vocalized' turns, but these are not the same as 'speaking.' These are very limited, specific in what is allowable as a vocalization, and highly organized. As far as the transcription of these responses: any combination of cheers/whoops/whistles/screams/etc. will be transcribed using a simplified form with all vocalizations on one single line – and generally expressed as singular 'cheers' – unless some distinction between the different forms is necessary for the analysis (see for example, ex. 2.17).

09 [(.) of Ohio] have said it loudly, and

10 AUD: [cheers-----]

11 HCl: clearly.= (0.6) [We]'re going on, (.) we're

12 A/m: =([ )]

13 HCl: going strong, and we're going all: the way.

14 AUD: ROAR--------------[cheers------[---------

15 HCl: |- ((10.1)) -|[You know,

The most immediate thing that stands out is the fact that the audience members do not speak in their turn/s[74], but rather participate only as a collective unit (as a single 'audience') by producing coordinated bursts of collective appreciation. This is not surprising given the number of participants (as mentioned, the numbers could be in the thousands). It would not be possible to have a productive exchange if everyone were afforded the range of options provided by a conversational structure. As Atkinson puts it, audiences must be "limited to gross displays done collectively… otherwise [it would be] unmonitorable verbal chaos" (1984b:371). Here we see how it is that the set-up of the occasion might facilitate this behavior: grouped as one collective unit, [helps them] behave as one unit. So, rather than a free-to-vary conversation between the candidate and the individual audience members, what we have here is an exchange with only two 'parties' involved: the speaker and the audience. Another thing that stands out about their turns is that there are no turn allocation techniques employed (e.g., the audiences do not self-select after the completion of a single TCU)[75]. And if we take a look at the speakers' turns, they consist almost entirely of

[74] This is with the exception of an occasional screaming A/m (as in line 12 of ex. 2.11); we will explore the nature of exceptions in more detail in Chapter 3. The occurrence of screams and whoops by smaller groups in the audience or an individual audience member is not uncommon. There is, however, the rare case where audience members yell something (an actual utterance, rather than the customary collective forms), which are actually quite systematic but also limited in terms of where they occur. We will address this issue in Chapter 3 when we discuss the management of contingencies and rule violation/s.

[75] That is not to say that these things never happens; on the contrary. However, when audience members do speak (by self-selection), its placement (among other things) demonstrates that it is not a viable option – it is a *sanctionable* occurrence. In Chapter 3 we

sentential TCUs. This, too, is not surprising given speakers prepare their remarks beforehand, and most likely write them more like an essay – with each political point, as Atkinson and Greatbatch call it "equivalent of a paragraph on the written page" (1986:113). So, then, while conversation is context free with nothing predetermined, here we have a system that is very context specific and at least one portion of the exchange is determined in advance[76].

So in general, although these parties enjoy alternating opportunities for participation, there are turn restrictions on how those opportunities are distributed (i.e., no speaker selection). In addition, the differences in their composition shape how each one contributes to the occasion (i.e., speakers speak, audience members mostly participate as a collectivity – c.f., Atkinson, 1984a, 184b; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991; Clayman, 1993). In addition, without a locally managed, TCU-by-TCU-basis for turn transitions, where the possible completion of a TCU is a potential transition relevant place, it has very strong implications for what each participant can – and must – do in their respective turns.

2.2.2 The Modified Speech Exchange System

So while ordinary conversation provides for equal opportunities to speak at regular intervals, with several different options [for turn construction and turn allocation], the turn taking for campaign rally speeches produces a system where the speaker is not restricted per se (however, they are limited in some senses, as we will soon see towards the end of this section) but the audience is, in the utmost sense (e.g., participating as a collective and no option to self-select a turn). As a consequence, speakers [can] produce long(er) multiple-TCU or multi-unit speaking turns. But, given these lengthier turns (and the fact that audiences cannot self-select), speakers must therefore rely on some other method for conveying how

---

will address what happens when audience members self-select and/or produce a turn that is something other than 'collective.'

[76] There are of course moments that are extemporaneous or improvised. This will be addressed in future research where speakers' prepared remarks are compared with what actually happens, providing some insight into speakers' intuitions and interpretations of what may be required *in the moment* that differs from what was prepared.

the next possible completion of a[ny] TCU *is* transition relevant. As we will see, speakers (and audiences) typically exploit this system to produce a limited range of action-sequence types where speakers repeatedly project turn transition at some possible completions but not others, while the audiences produce coordinated bursts of collective appreciation to only those particular units.

(TURN ORDER/TURN TYPE PRESPECIFICATION: SPEAKER 'SPEAKS' OR INITIATES (FPP)) The audience is in attendance – and the TV (or the Internet) audience is tuned-in at home – to hear what the speaker has to say, find out where the speaker stands on particular issues, or are present/tuned-in to show their support for the candidate. So then, as previously mentioned, the speaker gets 'speaking' turns: to present her views, to boost her camp. And as the audience cannot self-select, the speaker must produce turns to which the audience responds: she gets to go first (or, before the audience) and, subsequently, gets the sequential 'first/s,' – and gets them repeatedly[77] (she is afforded the right to initiate). Additionally, as a consequence, it may take some talking to produce a complete point to which the audience can respond. So, as mentioned, typically it means the speaker gets several more turn constructional units (or, TCUs) to construct their point, and can therefore complete several TCUs in their turn/s before coming to a transition relevant place where the audience responds. For example, in excerpts 2.12 and 2.13, then Senator Barack Obama and Congressman Ron Paul, respectively, complete several TCUs (marked by the "->" arrows) – which, in ordinary conversation could be possible completion points – before the audience eventually responds:

[77] This is true even when an announcer or introductory speaker is used to introduce the speaker. As we will explore [further] in Chapter 3, this method of beginning the event is one way to prepare the AUD. It specifically selects them to be "up next" as the next speaker, and not actually to *speak in the next turn*. On the contrary, when they are introduced, it is done so in a fashion that retains the structure of the occasion: speaker/introduction → audience responds, and *then* the next speaker begins.

[ex. 2.12] "Years from now" ~ B. Obama

Jan 03, 2008 – Des Moines, IA (Caucus Rally)

```
01    Oba:     Years from now. (1.4) you'll look back (.)
02           -> and you'll say that this was the moment,
03              (0.9) This was the place .h where America
04           -> remembered what it means to hope. (1.4) For
05              many months we've been teased(h)=even
06           -> derided (0.2) for talking about hope, (1.3)
07              But we always knew thet (.) hope is not
08           -> blind optimism. (0.9) It's not (.) ignor:ing
09           -> the enor:mity of the task ahead, (0.3) er
10           -> the roadblocks that stand in our path. (1.0)
11           -> It's not sitting on the sidelines=er: (0.2)
12           -> shirking from a fight. (0.8) Hope is that
13              thing inside us that insists. (0.7) despite
14              all: evidence to the contrary.=[(0.8) [that
15    Aud:                                    [yeah::[:.
16    Oba:   -> something better awaits us .h if we have the
17           -> courage, .h to reach for it(h). and=tuh work
18           -> for it(h). [.hh and to fight for it(h).
19    AUD:                [cheers-----------------[CHEERS
```

In excerpt 2.12, Obama completes several TCUs before the audience responds:

- Years from now you'll look back and you'll say this was the moment
- This was the place where American remembered what it means to hope
- For many months we've been teased

- even derided for talking about hope

- But we always knew that hope is not blind optimism
- It's not ignoring the enormity of the task ahead
    - Or the roadblocks that stand in our path
- It's not sitting on the sidelines
    - Or shirking from a fight
- Hope is that thing inside us that insists despite all the evidence to the contrary that something better awaits us
    - If we have the courage to reach for it
    - And to work for it
    - And to fight for it

[ex. 2.13] "I was influenced greatly" ~ R. Paul
Feb 01, 2008 – Denver, CO (Rally)

```
01    Ron:     I WAS INFLUENCED] GREATLY in the nineteen-
02             sixties,=studyin' free market economics,=
03          -> =also studyin' medicine at the time. .hh
04             Being in the military,=I was in the military
05          -> for five ye:ars, .hh saw what was happening
06             here domestically in our country,=with the
07          -> ri:ots en- .hh and the disturbance her:e as
08             well as the resentment towar:d the war:
09          -> going on in .h in Vietna:m, .mthh Ayn:d=uh:
10             (.) but=I=also saw it in economic terms in
11             the seventies.=because .h in the sixties we
12             had .h thee introduction of thee uh >uh-uh-<
13             uh thee new (0.2) entitlement programs under
```

14 Johnson(s) as well as the war:='n they kept
15 sayin' .h you can have .h uh: guns and
16 butter is no problem,=we can pay for
17 -> it,=we're a rich country:, .hh but the
19 -> nineteen-seventies proved out. (.) that it
20 --> was difficult. it was very co:stly. .h and
21 there was a payback.=An' there was a=lot=of
22 inflation.=a=lot= =of unemployment .hh hi:gh
23 interest rates.='en a lot of people very
24 unhappy.=which ushered in (.).hh uh: the
25 Reagan era >at=d'time=where=w-=they<.h the
26 -> people asked for a change in direction..hhmh
27 I see us facing that same type=uh=problem
28 -> right now. because in the last deca:de, .hh
29 even after: conservative republicans were
30 elected, .h our job was s'ppose=tuh be to
31 -> cut ba:ck on the size of government, .h but
32 -> we failed that. and if we=er gonna survive
33 -> as a party, .h we better get back on tra:ck,
34 .h an- (.) depen- en- and defend these
35 principals that w-=used to be the Republican
36 -> Party,=and that is .h <defending liberty and
37 -> our con[stitution.>]=
38 AUD: [cheers-----]=ROAR ((12 sec))

In this excerpt, Ron Paul also manages to complete several TCUs before the audience responds on line 38:

- I was influenced greatly in the 1960s studying free market economics also studying medicine at the time

- Being in the military – I was in the military for five years
    - Saw what was happening here domestically in our country with the riots
        - and the disturbance here as well as the resentment toward the war going on in Vietnam
- And but I also saw it in economic terms in the seventies because in the sixties we had the introduction… new entitlement programs under Johnson as well as the war
    - and they kept saying you can have guns and butter is no problem we can pay for it we're a rich country
- but the 1970s proved out
    - that it was difficult
    - and it was very costly
    - and there was a payback and there was a lot of inflation a lot of unemployment high interest rates and a lot of people very unhappy which ushered in the Reagan era at the time… people asked for a change in direction
- I see us facing that same type of problem right now
    - Because in the last decade, even after conservative republicans were elected, our job was supposed to be cut back on the size of government
        - But we failed that
- And if we're going to survive as a party we better get back on track
    - And defend these principles that used to be the Republican party
        - and that is defending liberty and our constitution

Each of the outlined bullet points are places where the speakers have delivered items to which one could imagine some kind of response from an interlocutor *if this were an ordinary conversation*. For instance, take the first lines from each excerpt: when Obama says, "Years from now you'll look back and you'll say this was the moment" (ex. 2.12, lines 01-02), one could imagine responses such as, "that's right," "it was [indeed],"or "yeah, I

will"; and when Paul says, "I was influenced greatly in the 1960s studying free market economics also studying medicine at the time" (ex. 2.13, lines 01-03), one could imagine responses such as, "oh really?" or "wow, you did?" However, the audiences refrain from conversational responses because of the specialized turn-taking system.

So by virtue of this distribution of the rights to speak and the audience withholding their responses [until TRPs], the speakers' extended turns can then be more complex or multi-component stretches of talk – what Atkinson and Heritage & Greatbatch call "combinations." For example, in excerpt 2.14, Senator John McCain speaks to supporters and describes the party whose nomination he seeks. He gets through five major points (at arrowed lines 02, 04, 09, 14, 18, and 28; marked as arrows a-e) before the audience responds (lines 29-31).

```
[ex. 2.14]  "I seek the nomination" ~ J. McCain
            Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua, NH (NH Primary)

01    McC:     Thank you. .mt I seek the nomination of a
02           a-> party that believes in the strength,
03               industry, and goodness of the American
04           b1-> people. .mthh We don't believe that
05               government has all the <answers,> (.) .hh
06             -> but that it should respect the rights,
07               property:-, (.) and under- opportunities of
08               the people. .hh to whom we are accountable.
09           b2-> .mhh We don't believe in growing the si:ze
10               of government, .hh to make it easier to
11             -> serve our own ambitions .hh But what
12               government is expected to do:, (0.2) it must
13               do with <competence, resol:ve, and wisdom.>
14           c-> .mhh In recent years, we have lost the trust
```

```
15              of the people. .h who share our principles,
16              .hh but doubt our own allegiance to them.
17              .mh I seek the nomination of our party, to
18          d-> restore that trust. .h to return our
19              property- our(b)- >party< to the principles.
20              .hh (.) that have never failed Americans.
21           -> .mth The party of fiscal discipline,=low
22              taxes,=enduring values, (.) .h a strong and
23              capable defense. .h that encourages the
24              enterprise ‘en ingenuity of individuals, .h
25              businesses ‘en families, .hh who know best.
26              (0.3) how to advance America's economy. .h
27              and secure the dreams that have made us .h
28          e-> the greatest nation in history.
29    A/m:      YEAH:[::[::
30    A/m:           [YE[AH:[::::
31    AUD:              [YEAHS/CHEERS----------------------
```

Here, McCain’s multi-unit turn consists of a description of the party whose nomination he seeks: (a) the party that believes in..., (b1/b2) we don’t believe in X, but Y..., (c) we have lost the trust/he seeks to restore that trust..., (d) [restore] the party of (principles)..., and (e) ends with a compliment of the America/the American people. The audience responds with yeahs and cheers.

But these multi-component units are not a given. They are difficult to accomplish, engineered through careful design. Sometimes speakerS do not get the opportunity (despite their efforts) to deliver such a multi-unit, multi-faceted turn without so much as a peep from the audience. The opportunity for an extended stretch of talk is due in part to the turn taking limitations but is also shaped by the audience’s presence (and willingness to stay) and their conduct (and willingness to stay quiet at certain points). Often times, the audience

responds to several of the components – as with excerpt 2.15. During a speech following the Iowa Caucus, as then Senator Hillary Clinton attempts (at arrowed lines 01-04/06, 08-13, and 14/16-19/21) a multiple-unit turn, rather than hold off the audience responds after each component (at starred lines 07, 15, and 20/22).

[ex. 2.15] "If you are concerned" ~ H. Clinton
Jan 03, 2008 — Des Moines, IA (Iowa Caucus)

```
01    HCl:  ->      [.mt:=.hh! (0.6) if you're concerned
02             about- (0.7) whether or not, (.) we can have
03             quality affordable health care for every
04             American, .mthh [(.) =then I'm your
05    A/m:                     [woo!=
06    HCl:     candidate.
07    AUD:   * CHEER[S--------------[cheers-----------]
08    HCl:  -> (0.3)[And if you're:e [concer:ned, (0.2)]
09             about whether: we can have an energy
10             policy:,=thet will .h br:eak the shackles of
11             our dependence on foreign oi:l,=an' .h set
12             for:th a (.) new: set of goals for us to
13             meet together then I'm your candidate. (.)
14           -> [And if you ARE WORRIED, [.hh! ABOUT, (0.2)]
15    AUD:   * [cheers------------------[clapping---------]
16    HCl:     once and for all: taking on global warming,
17             .hh making it clear: that we will e:n:d=the
18             unfunded mandate known as No Child Left
19             Behi:nd, .h [that we will- (0.3) MAKE]=
20    AUD:   *             [cheers------------------]=
21    HCl:     =[CO:LLEGE affordable aga[in, .hh] that we
22    AUD:   * =[clapping---------------[-------]
```

23 A/m: [woo!

24 HCl: will (.) be:, once again the country of

25 values and ideals that we cherish so much.

26 .hhh then please.=join me in this campaign.

27 .mth We have a lo:ng way to go,=but I am

Hillary sets up a series of puzzles for the audience ("if you are..."; at arrowed lines 01-04/06, 08-13, and 16-19), each one of these then positing herself as the solution ("then I'm your candidate/join me" at lines 04, 13, and 26). She links them as components that are part of a larger unit by building them on a similar structure and syntax (bolded in transcript; "if you are...then..."). In addition, she delivers these units with minimal pause or break in between – which demonstrates further that these are not designed as transition relevant places, but rather are parts of one single, compound unit. Despite this, the audience comes in by reference to each of these possible completions; each unit gets a response from the audience (at starred lines 07, 15, and 20/22).

This brings up two additional issues, which will be addressed in subsequent chapters, worth at least a mention here. The fact that the audience's responses come before the speaker projects or anticipates[78] should not dismiss the fact that the audience recognizes something in the her turn to which they could respond – after all, it is not simply a single or even a few audience members that respond. First, in Chapter 3 we will untangle turn-construction-based contingencies such as this, and the methods speakers use to deal with them. Second, in Chapter 4 we will explore what it is that the audience recognizes when we explicate the limited range of actions to which an audience can respond. But before we get to that, let us look at *how* it is audiences can do this – the different ways in which an audience can respond, what forms their response/s can take.

[78] In Chapter 3 we will examine certain aspects of the speakers' turn design that creates a situation where the audience responds before the applaudable message or before the final component of a larger combination of rhetorical devices.

(TURN ORDER/TURN TYPE PRESPECIFICATION: AUDIENCE RESPONDS COLLECTIVELY (SPP)) We noted previously that compared with speakers, the audience is constrained to participate in collectively simple ways. As the studies on collective behavior and responding in unison point out, in situations such as these [where one sits as an audience member to some public display or performance], participants weigh the costs and benefits of responding (or, displaying their affiliation) – the positive value in expressing affiliation (i.e., support or approval) against the drawback of potential social isolation or having one's social competence called into question by expressing unpopular ideas or behaving in ways that others do not (c.f., Asch, 1951; Schelling, 1980, Atkinson, 1984a:18; Atkinson, 1984b:371-374; Noelle-Neumann, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986:111; Clayman, 1993:111).

As Atkinson points out, this pressure to act in unison results in displays which have production features that enable large numbers of people to respond at the same time – but also ones that accommodate others who join in some time after the response is already underway (1984a:18-30; 1984b:371). This contributes to diminishing the dilemma/s of responding by providing a way for more people to join in [unnoticed], which yields a higher pay off and at the same time lowering the risk of isolation because as more people respond, more [other] people will respond. And according to Clayman (1993), there are two processes that factor into the decision to act and coordinate action: independent decision-making and mutual monitoring.

Independent decision-making involves audience members who "act independently of one another and yet still manage to coordinate their actions … Insofar as each audience member assumes that others will find the assertion significant, and insofar as all parties can project its completion early enough to gear up for a response, then its completion may serve as a common reference point around which individual response decisions are coordinated" (Clayman, 1993:111-112). Mutual monitoring, on the other hand, is where response decisions are "guided, at least in part, by reference to the behavior of other audience members" (Clayman, 1993:112). For example, people can monitor others for 'pre-

response' behaviors; participants can monitor for the 'yeahs' uttered prior to applauding or for the murmurs and buzzing prior to booing, or even for the actual beginnings of a response, like the claps that precede applause (Clayman, 1993:112). However, as previously noted, the configuration is such that audience members' orientations are focused toward the stage/speaker and not towards each other (see also Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986:112) so this side-by-side set-up makes visual cues (looking to or at others) less helpful for this type of process. Instead, the production features of collective responses noted by Atkinson (open vowel sounds in cheers, applause, etc.) provide the resource needed by other audience members to coordinate their actions.

This section provides a description[79] of the different forms the audience's responses take at campaign rallies, which – given the occasion – consist almost entirely of affiliative or 'independent decision making' type (e.g., applause, cheers/whoops, and laughter), including boos that are actually affiliative. But there are also responses not yet broached by previous research: verbalizations. These types are unique to this political setting; they do not occur at British conferences and will not happen at other American political campaign related events where audiences are present (e.g., debates, press conferences, etc.). These include roars, chants, choral co-productions, and call-and-response pairs.

(APPLAUSE) As Atkinson notes, "of the various methods available to us for showing our collective appreciation and approval, applause is indeed the most usual one" (1984a:21). This is indeed the case in this occasion as well. It can occur on its own, as in excerpt 2.16, for example. Then Senator Barack Obama is speaking to a crowd just after 'patriotism' and 'service to the country' had become a regular issue in the campaign as well as political attacks on his character. When he makes assertions about what Americans understand about what has been presented during this election campaign and the relationship between

[79] For the moment, a mere *description* of the range of responses possible will suffice. A more detailed account of just how these responses come about – to what do they respond – and what do the different forms reflect about the audiences' understanding of what had been delivered (including how they show themselves to be agreeing with or showing appreciation) will be covered in subsequent chapters, namely Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

disagreement and patriotism, the audience responds with applause; and when he proposes that most Americans do not agree with the some demonstrators' extreme measures of showing their opposition to certain policies, the audience applauds.

[ex. 2.16] "Dissent not unpatriotic" ~ B. Obama
June 30, 2008 – Independence, MO (Rally)

```
01    Oba:     Now, (.) most Americans never bought into
02             these simplistic worldviews. these
03             caricatures of left, .hh and of right. (0.7)
04             Most Americans understood that disse:nt,
05             (0.3) does not <make one unpatriotic,>
06    AUD:  -> [claps-[APPLAUSE-------cl[apping
07    Oba:     |-     (( 7.0) ))     -|[And most Americans
08             understand that there's nothing smart, or
09             sophisticated,=about a cynical disregard for
10             America's traditions, .hh and institutions.
11             .mthh
12    AUD:  -> applause------------[------------cla[pping
13    Oba:     |-    (( 2.3 ))   -|[And yet- (1.4) [And yet
```

We can note that the applause here also follows the trajectory outlined by Atkinson: "…maximum volume is reached within the first second, remains more or less constant for a further five seconds and then falls away slightly more slowly that [sic] it built up at the start" (1984a:24) with a "…standardized length of eight seconds (plus or minus one) for bursts of applause…" (1984a:25). At line 06, the audience's response starts as a few 'claps' that immediately burst to an 'APPLAUSE' level within the first second, and after a several

seconds the 'APPLAUSE' then dies down to some 'clapping'[80] – in sum 7.0 seconds – just before the speaker begins a new turn (at line 07).

As regular as applause is, in campaign rallies it is equally usual for the audience to respond with various vocalizations. In fact, it is quite the rare occurrence that applause be the sole response from the audience (as with this excerpt); it is overwhelmingly coupled with some type of vocalization.

(CHEERS, WHOOPS, AND WHISTLES) Audiences can also show 'appreciation' through other means besides applauding with their hands. Audiences can produce a variety of vocalizations. The production features of these vocalizations are the same as what has been described by previous research: cheers ('yaaaaay' or 'yeaaahhh'), whoops ('woooo!'), whistles, yelps, and screams all have extended vowel sounds that enable large numbers of people to respond collectively, and their open-ended character allows people to join after others have already started. And although Atkinson does take into account cheers from audiences, what he and others claim (c.f., Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986) regarding the priority of applause over vocalizations does not quite apply here. In fact, the vocalizations here have a different organization or shape than what has been previously described.

Atkinson asserts that applause is the most usual response and that "…the main function of other affiliative responses is to prompt audiences to start clapping" (1984a:21). He goes further to state that "[although] applause is often not the first response to occur, it regularly wins out in the end against its vocal competitors" (1984a:23). For this occasion, however, audiences produce vocalizations almost as frequently as applause, with the two almost always occurring in conjunction. These vocalizations instead stand on their own as a response (rather than as a precursor to applause) – often times lasting almost as long. Take for example the following excerpt where Ron Paul is speaking at a rally to a crowd in a parking lot in Victoria, Texas. Discussing the current monetary system in America, he

[80] For transcription conventions of the differing levels of audience response, please refer to Appendix A.

concludes his point by asserting that there is something wrong with the current system and something needs to be done about it. The audience responds with a bout of supportive cheers, whoops, yeahs and whistles (at line 22) – which are louder than and last almost as long as the (mild) intermixed applause (line 23).

[ex. 2.17] "Depreciation of the dollar" ~ R. Paul
Feb 02, 2008 — Victoria, TX (Rally)

01 Ron: [But that system of] money:, was desi:gned
02 to deceitfully tax the people.='An=the way
03 they do it, .h they run up debt, .h they tax
04 a lot, (.) they borrow a lot,=n'=they still
05 don't have enough money,=if they truly want
06 big government=so what do they do they (go)
07 ontuh .h! creating money out of thin air,
08 .hh which does what. It devalues the money,
09 (.) thet we have. .h And that is why:, (0.2)
10 prices go up, (.) that's why you have, (.)
11 the inflation, .h and it's also the reason
12 that you can read on a daily basis today, .h
13 >the depreciation of the dollar.=the
14 weakness of the dollar.=>th=the< collapsing
15 of the dollar.<=to the point now .h where
16 the Canadian dollar's worth more than the
17 American dollar.=There's something wro::ng,
18 .h with our system, .h 'eh:n that is
19 >demonstrated by the weakness of our dollar=
20 ='en that means< we nee:d to get this stuff
21 under control:, (.) rapidly.

```
22    AUD:  -> [whooPS/CHEERS/YEAHS/WHIstles][81]
23          -> [claps---applause-----------]--cl[aps
                |-          (6.0)          -|
24    Ron:      |-            (7.6)          -|[Though
```

And also this next example where then Governor Sarah Palin speaks to a crowd in Colorado Springs, CO, introducing John McCain [as the next speaker]. Just after she characterizes him as a person who uses their career to promote change (rather than the other way around), she continues with more positive qualities – then concludes with a compliment. The audience responds with a boisterous round of cheers, whoops, yeahs, and whistles (line 12) mixed with some mild applause (line 13).

```
[ex. 2.18]  "Isn't afraid of a fight" ~ S. Palin
            Sept 06, 2008 — Colorado Springs, CO (Rally)

01    Pal:    [.hh (0.2) ^This is a] moment (.) when:, (.)
02            ^principles. (.) and political independence.
03            (0.2) andt(h)=.hh those thi:ngs that we need
04            in this country. ^to cha:nge.=>all about
05            reform.<.h! it all matters a <lot more. (.)
06            than just a party li:ne.> .mnhh And this is
07            a ma:n, (.) who has a:lwees been there to
08            serve his country, .h not just his party,
09            .hh  ^He's a leader,  (.) who's- (.) not
10            looking for a fight, but he ↓sur:e isn't
11            afraid of one either.
```

[81] The combination of vocalizations with applause are typically transcribed using a simplified form with the entire on one single line – and generally expressed as singular 'cheers/whoops/applause' – visualized as a mix of a variety of vocalizations in overlap; the separation of applause is, here, intentional.

```
12    AUD:  -> wh[oOPS/CHEERS/YEAHS/WHIStles[---
13                [applause-----------------[----(mild)----
                    |-      (5.7)       -|
14    Pal:      |-          (7.1)          -|[Joh:n McCai:n,
```

Rather than some brief cheers that are then drowned out by a burst of applause that eventually wins out, here the applause stays level and mild, and the vocalizations last nearly as long. In ex. 2.17 the cheers/whoops last a full 6.0 seconds while the entire response is 7.6 seconds. In ex. 2.18 it lasts a full 7.1 seconds before the speaker begins again in overlap – at which point the response continues in overlap momentarily before it dwindles to mild applause. And though applause does in fact last the '8.0 seconds +/- 1.0' proposed by Atkinson, it pales in comparison to the volume of the cheers/whoops.

So these vocalizations have a trajectory quite different from the one Atkinson describes for them – one in actuality quite similar to what he describes for applause. Atkinson asserts that "vocal responses have to be produced in the brief period before the clapping reaches maximum intensity if they are to stand a chance of being heard" (1984a:25). But rather than having a slim chance of being heard, here the cheering/whooping is what bursts and muffles the (mild and level) applause. As typically described instead for applause, cheers/whoops reach a maximum intensity within the first second (ex. 2.17 at line 23, and ex. 2.18 at line 13), which then plateaus for a few seconds (for 3.6 and 5.7 seconds, respectively) before trailing off. So perhaps Atkinson's description is for audience responses in general – not specifically for applause but rather for the response of choice for the particular occasion. So this raises the question as to why the vocalizations occur just as frequent as applause – and in most cases overshadow it.

As noted in the introduction and earlier in this chapter, this type of election event aims to boost supporters and to drum up support during a long campaign season. One way to do that is to have the supporters in attendance shows their support and excitement; and what better way to show that than by cheering or whooping (and conversely, what better

way to excite your constituents than getting them to scream-and-cheer and whoop-and-holler). After all, by definition to 'cheer' is to "shout for joy or in praise or encouragement; give comfort or support to"; and to 'whoop' is to "give or make a loud cry of joy or excitement" (Oxford Dictionaries). So, whereas the fellow [British] party members show their approval, agreement, or support [with/of the assertions made by speakers] in the form of applause, here the candidates' supporters' cheers and whoops demonstrate support and excitement which are actually more fitting for this occasion. So applause does not quite have the primacy in this occasion as it does with the occasion/s previously studied.

Case in point: even when the audience's applause goes longer than usual, it still does not 'win out' over other responses as the cheers and whoops also continue. For example, in this next excerpt Sen. John McCain speaks to a crowd just after a sweeping victory in the Potomac Primary. When he alludes to where the Democratic Party's candidate/s would take this country, he emphatically asserts that they cannot let this happen. The audience's response is a boisterous mix of applause, cheers, and whoops (lines 12-13). And even though the cheers and whoops begin to trail off, the applause continues at quite a solid level (at lines 15-16). The cheers then flare back up (at double-arrowed line 16) – and this happens a second time (at double-arrowed lines 18-21).

[ex. 2.19] "We Dare Not Let Them" ~ J. McCain
Feb 13, 2008 — Alexandria, VA (Potomac Primary)

```
01    McC:     [Without- (0.9) without your faith and
02             commitment we would not be here,=an' I am
03             immensely grateful to yeuh:. .mthh But now
04             my friends comes the hard part. (0.2) and
05             for America. .mth the much bigger decision.
06             .mth We don't yet know:=for cert'n:, (.) who
07             will have the honor of being the Democratic
08             Party's nominee for President. .mhh But we
```

```
09              know where either of their candidates will
10              lead this country and we=da:re,=not,=let=
11              =[them.
12    AUD:  ->  [clap[s--app[lause----------------]------]=
13          ->       [yeahs/[CHEERS/WHOOPS/-------]cheers]
                     |(0.5)||-       (1.2)       -||(1.0)|
14                           [we dare not let them.]
15          -> =app[lause------[------------]=           ↰
16    AUD: =>> =[•c[heers•----][cheers------]             |
                |-   (1.8)   -||-   (2.3)  -|            |
17    A/m:          [woo!       |-          -|      ((10.1))
18    AUD:  -> =applause-[------------[---]-mild clapping=|
19    A/m: =>>  |-(2.2)-|[wo[o::!             |- (1.7) -| |
20    A/m: =>>              [whistles=                    |
21    A/m: =>>                        =[woo!              ↵
22    Aud:     =mi[ld clapping--claps---
23    McC:        [y'know, (1.1) .hh 're gonna promise a
```

The audience's response starts off with a brief moment of clapping (arrowed line 12) from a portion of the audience (as Atkinson notes, applause can come prior to the completion of the speaker's unit) and then it boosts when it turns to applause and the audience whoops and cheers (line 13) at the unit's completion. As Atkinson claims, the applause does outlast the vocalizations (1984a:23). However, rather than fading away, here the audience keeps up the cheers and whoops (though with decreased intensity) so long as the 'collective response' keeps up. After the large burst of cheers (line 13) dies down, and yet the applause continues (at arrowed line 15), the cheers that had begun to die down actually flare back up (at double-arrowed line 16). Then when those cheers die down, a portion of the audience continues to applaud (at double-arrowed line 18) – and so several audience members whoop and whistle (at double-arrowed lines 19-21).

What this suggests is that despite the accuracy of Atkinson's claim regarding the physical limitations of producing a sustained vocalization (e.g., fatigue, hoarseness, shortness of breath; 1984a:23), the audience's persistence at producing this response despite those limitations – in addition to the fact that a burst of applause does not drown it out – indicates the priority that vocalizations have in this occasion. The resurgence of cheers demonstrates the audience's recognition of its renewed relevance given that the applause continues. In other words, since the collective response continues, so should the vocalizations. And in fact, the 'ups and downs' are probably due to the physical limitations (running out of breath, taking a breath in and beginning again).

The proclivity to produce vocalizations makes sense given what we know about the occasion and that cheers and whoops display encouragement, support, and excitement (as opposed to the support or agreement with a party's policy or position as previously studied)[82]. And this is especially true in cases where the audience "roars" and it actually drowns out any applause – almost completely. Roars are especially beneficial [to speakers] as they demonstrate the amount of support one's campaign has. Roars are deeper, fuller, louder, and more boisterous than cheers – showing the group's zeal and fervor (i.e., the passion and excitement the candidates' supporters have for her and the campaign). One of the features that highlight this is the fact that they last longer than your typical response. As Atkinson points out, the standard length is eight seconds, +/-1 second (1984b:374); anything above that is perceived as "bonus." One reason for the increased length of a roar is because of its drawn out trajectory.

The trajectory of a roar (specifically the decline) is slightly different from the trajectories of applause and cheers/whoops described thus far. A roar reaches maximum intensity much quicker, which is sustained slightly longer (about 4 seconds, +/-1). The boisterous response also takes longer to subside. It first decreases to 'CHEERS' (which lasts

[82] That is not to say that the audience does not 'agree' with the speaker. On the contrary, and as we will see in Chapter 4, this occasion is primarily about agreement – but it is more than that; and these vocalizations [will] reveal this much more complex situation (and relationship).

3 seconds, +/-1), and then down to 'cheers' (which also lasts 3 seconds, +/-1). So, having all three of these components extends the length of this type of response – typically around 10 seconds, +/-1. For example, when Hillary speaks in Ohio (previously seen as ex. 2.11), three successive points result in three roars – three roars which all go [from] 'ROAR--CHEERS--cheers' (at arrowed lines 03, 08, and 16).

(seen previously as 2.11)

[ex. 2.20] "Ohio" ~ H. Clinton

Mar 04, 2008 – Columbus, OH (Ohio Primary)

```
01    HCl:     You know what they say. As Ohio goes, <so
02             goes, the nation.>
03    AUD:  -> roAR----------[CHEERS-[cheers[-----]
                |-          (7.9)          -|
04                                  [applau[se-cl]apping=
05    HCl:                                  [Well,] (0.3)
06             this nation's coming ba:ck, and so is this
07             campaign.
08    AUD:  -> roAR----------[CHEERS--[cheers[------------]
                |-          (9.7)           -|
09                                   [applause-clapping--]
10    HCl:                                    [The people:,]
11             (.) of Ohio have said it loudly, and
12    HCl:     clearly.= (0.6) [We]'re going=[on, (.) we're
13    A/m:              =(      [ )]
14    A/m:                                   =[(     )
15    HCl:     going stro:ng, and we're going all: the way.
16    AUD: -> roAR-----------[CHEERS--[cheers--[---------
17                                   [applause[---------
```

```
                |-          (10.1)              -|
18    HCl:                                        [You know,
```

And, as initially mentioned, the vocalizations are so predominant that these roars (especially during their maximum intensity) completely drown out any applause – even when it dwindles down to the 'CHEERS' [portion]. This is an indication that the audience members are more preoccupied with their vocalizations than their applause. There is no audible indication that the audience is applauding (even though in the video we can *see* the audience behind the speaker [mildly] clapping) while they are screaming wildly. In fact, the applause can only be heard at the very tail end of the response when the roar has subsided down to mere 'cheers' (lines 03/04, 08/09, and 17/18).

(LAUGHTER) Another 'independent decision making' type of response – one that also takes a back seat to cheers – is laughter. Here laughter has a particular home, a specific place for its occurrence. Laughter, when a speaker prepares a place for it, occurs following the first part of a two-part unit, or somehow otherwise buried [by the speaker] in a multi-component unit. It does not follow the final component. In other words, compound units are not setup so that laughter is the primary response to the unit/point (to the issue). For example, in these next two excerpts the speakers make jokes and speak humorously, and the audiences respond with chuckles and laughter. However, these points are only a setup: they are followed-up by a more serious (contrasting) point. In ex. 2.21, Governor Huckabee first asserts that this election "is not about me, it's about we" (line 04). He follows that up by claiming that although he is the one front and center of the campaign, the campaign is about 'we.' However, a slow, tongue-in-cheek delivery regarding the attention he gets [being front and center] in 'some of the few ads' (referring to attack ads) attracts a few chuckles from a small portion of the audience (arrowed line 13). When he completes the unit by joking about their frequency (here and there) the audience laughs (arrowed line 15).

However, he then sandwiches the laughter by reiterating – seriously – "the election is not about me" (line 16).

[ex. 2.21] "I'm the person who" ~ M. Huckabee
Jan 03, 2008 — Des Moines, IA (Iowa Caucus)

```
01    Hkb:     [and ladies 'n gentlemen we've learned]
02             something else tonight.=And that is thet-
03             (.) .hh (.) this election.=hhh (.) is not
04             about 'm:e:,' (0.3) it's about 'we.'=
05             =.mth[hhh (.) [And I don't say that
06    A/m:           [yes.=
07    A/m:                =yea[h.
08    Hkb:     lightly. (0.4) .mthh (0.3) I'm the person
09             who's name gets on the si:gns(h). .mh who
10             occasionally gets:=uh (.) .hh.mt!
11             >thee=uh-< (0.2) attention. (.) in
12             some=uh=[thuh- (0.9) [few ads th[at- (0.3)
13    Aud:  ->          [chuckles--la[ughter----[chuckles]—
14    Hkb:     came out here and there.
15    AUD:  -> laughter-----{chuckles=
16    Hkb:                  {grins   ={shakes head------}
17                                      {but the election.}
18             (.) .mt is not about me. (0.2) .mhh and the
19             country.=is not just about me (0.8) what is
```

After the momentary joking about the negative attention he receives (at lines 09-12, 14) gets a laugh from the audience (arrowed lines 13/15), he grins. Immediately following, as the

laughs dwindle, he shakes his head (at line 16) as he transitions from the joke to the serious (see 'joke-to-serious no' Schegloff, 2001) and then begins to talk about some serious issues in the campaign (lines 17-19) – the main point to which the audience eventually responds.

In ex. 2.22, while Hillary is addressing the 'people of America,' she dissects to whom she is actually directing her message: to those with similar beliefs (Democrats) and a select few from the other political parties ("like-minded independents" and "Republicans who have seen the light"). Like Huckabee's, the slow and tongue-in-cheek delivery – in addition to her lowered tone – at lines 06-07 and 09-10) get some chuckles and laughs from the audience (arrowed lines 08 and 11). However, that is then followed up with a more serious caution that what she wants is for [them] to "understand, number one, that the stakes are huge" (line 12-13).

```
[ex. 2.22]  "REPs who have seen the light" ~ H.  Clinton
            Jan 03, 2008 — Des Moines, IA (Iowa Caucus)

01    HCl:              [NOW YOU KNOW:, (1.5) .mth (0.7)]
02             we have al:ways planned, to run, a:
03             national campaign:, a:ll: the way through:
04             the early contests, .hhh because I want
05             the people of America=an' particularly (.)
06             <↓Democrats, (0.7) .mt (0.2) ↓and
07             like-minded independents,>
08    Aud:  -> chuck[les
09    HCl:     (0.3)[.mt (0.9) <a:nd Republicans, who
10             ↓have seen the light,>
11    AUD:  -> LAUGH[TER--chuckles
12                  [cheers-------[cheers---clapping
13    HCl:                        [to understand,=number
14             one, (.) that the stakes are huge. (0.5)
```

But sometimes that laughter can come inadvertently in the middle of the speaker's message (offered up by the audience rather than solicited by the speaker). For example, in excerpt 2.23 Senator McCain delivers a self-deprecating remark and continues – without pause – to produce the second part to his headline/puzzle, only to be cut-off due to some chuckles that come from the audience in response to his self-deprecation.

[ex. 2.23] "I'm not the youngest candidate" ~ J. McCain
Feb 19, 2008 – Columbus, OH (Wisconsin Primary)

```
01    McC:     My friends, (0.9) I'm not the youngest
02             candidate, [but I am- {(0.6)
03    Aud:  ->            [chuckles--{-----
04    McC:                           {stops, grins
05    McC:     but I am the most experienced.
06    AUD:     CHEERS/APPLAUSE
```

When McCain sets up a headline/puzzle ('not the youngest' – *why the self-deprecation*?), the laughter is not solicited as with the two prior instances. Notice that he continues straight through to produce the punch line (he does not pause after the delivery of the preliminary unit at line 02), only to cut-off his utterance and wait ("but I am- (0.6)" at line 02) while holding a grin (at line 04) because of the audience's chuckles (at line 03). He then delivers the [more serious point] punch line: asserting that with age comes experience (line 05). So even these moments of 'offered laughter' from the audience show that the lighthearted moments[83] are not the primary unit/point, the primary purpose of the exchange.

In cases where the speaker makes use of a compound unit (e.g., a headline-punch line, puzzle/solution, or contrast), the laughter is always the set-up – and never the punch line; audiences are prompted to laugh at the sub-points – the target of the laughter is one of

[83] We will return to this when we discuss the import of the different types of responses – what they reflect about the audiences' interpretations and understandings – in Chapter 3.

the clauses leading up to the ultimate issue or main talking point with which they are to agree or affiliate[84]:

(1.21)	(sub-point)	I'm the person who ...	((*laughter*)),
	(main-point)	… but not about me (it is about)...	serious/applause
(1.22)	(sub-point)	like-minded and seen the light...	((*laughter*))
	(main-point)	… to understand that...	serious/applause
(1.23)	(inadvertent point)	I'm not the youngest...	((*chuckles*))
	(main-point)	…but I am...	serious/applause

(BOOS) Another way that audiences can respond is by booing. As previously noted, Clayman points out that independent-decision-making type responses (e.g., applause) tend to be affiliative with one type of trajectory (begin with a burst, long and sustained), while the mutual monitoring type (e.g., boos) tend to be disaffiliative with another type of trajectory (delayed onset, preceded by other responses that dissolves into booing, lasting no longer than 3 seconds) (Clayman, 1993:126). The different starts are due in part to the fact that speakers create an opportunity for affiliative responses using rhetorical devices (or what Atkinson calls 'clap traps') that enable several individuals to both prepare and arrive at the same decision [to respond] at the same time. Disaffiliative responses, however, generally have no such moment prepared for them so participants must rely on cues from others (resulting in the intervening lag in starting). And although Clayman (1993) points out that booing is disaffiliative, for this occasion booing is actually affiliative.

According to Clayman, the targets of disaffiliative booing are typically embedded attacks, boasts by the speaker, and '[a mix of] favorable to us/unfavorable to them' remarks (1993:114-116). However, Clayman's research is based mostly on debates and talk shows

[84] We will address the issue of agreement and affiliation in Chapter 4.

where the audience members are a mix of supporters from various sides[85]. And for occasions with mixed crowds, it seems reasonable that criticisms [of your 'side'] or boasts [of the 'opposing side'] would get disaffiliative responses (i.e., boos). So it would follow that campaign rallies – where the crowds are homogeneously supporters – are not an occasion for disaffiliative responses[86]. On the contrary, boasts and favorable references [to us] delivered at this occasion are not booed but, rather, they are celebrated and cheered. Audiences' responses not only reflect this contextually[87] (supporters would hardly boo the candidate for whom the rally is being held) but also structurally.

Structurally, these 'boos' are less like the booing described by Clayman and more like the affiliative responses previously described. The boos described by Clayman are characterized by a lag between the target and the response, typically preceded by some other audience response, and "rarely last longer than three seconds" (Clayman, 1993:116-117; 126). However, affiliative boos happen very close to the target, within a second they reach a maximum intensity which is sustained for a second or two before trailing off, and in sum it lasts for four seconds, +/-1 second. Take the following case for example. Obama is speaking at his campaign rally in San Antonio, Texas – just before the Texas and Ohio primaries close for the night. When he likens McCain's policies to those of [then] President Bush's policies – adding that McCain would keep the country headed in the same direction, the audience immediately responds to this [idea] by booing (at starred line 17). The booing

---

[85] And although he does include party conferences in his list of data [sources], there is one meeting cited in the research – one that was reportedly considered "bad behavior of Conservative Party members at the party conference in Blackpool during debates on law and order" (to hear recording, go to "Conservative Conference – Law and Order debate, (n.d.)). In one if the instances cited, the audience begins to 'buzz' after the speaker criticizes them ("…because YOU'RE NOT conservatives"), booing after he then chastises them ("As Leopold Amory (sic) said to Neville Chamberlain I say to you, YOU SAT HERE TOO LONG." (Clayman, 1993:123). So, this appears to be an isolated instance from this type of occasion, which – for this research – makes it difficult to make any generalizations about additional instances from party conferences.

[86] We will return to this issue in Chapter 3 where we address dealing with contingencies – specifically, we will take a look at hecklers and how speakers and audiences manage those situations.

[87] And as we will see in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 (when we discuss 'context' – or, to what do these boos respond – to a greater degree), having this type of a response available as a resource becomes quite useful tool to have in their arsenal.

peaks within the first second and remains at that level for a couple of seconds before it begins to subside.

[ex. 2.24] "The Very Same Course" ~ B. Obama
Mar 04, 2008 – San Antonio, TX (TX/OH Primary)

```
01    Oba:     But in this ele:ction. (0.6) we will o:ffer
02             two very different visions(h), .h of the
03             America we see: in the twenty-first century.
04             (0.4)
05    A/m:     woo!=
06    Oba:         =Because Joh:n McCai:n(uh) may claim(h),
07             (0.4) long historeh. (0.6) of straight talk
08             en' independent-thinking,=an'=I respect that
09             but .h in this campaign, (.) .mth he's
10             fa:llen in li:ne behind the s-=very same
11             policies, .hh tha've ill-ser:ved America.
12    Aud:     clapping-[applause/cheers------
13    Oba:     | (2.2) |[<He has:,> (0.5) he has seen where
14             George Bush has taken our country. (0.6) and
15             he promises to keep us:, .h on the very same
16             course.
17    AUD:  -> boo:OO:::::oo[:::::::::
18    Oba:     |- ((3.9)) -|[It's the sa:me course that
```

And the booing can even come a little early – as with this next excerpt. In ex. 2.25, Sen. Clinton is speaking at a campaign rally the night of Super Tuesday [Primaries]. The excerpt picks up just after she has listed off several issues on which the campaign is based – the people, their problems (and therefore some of the problems in the country). When she

'headlines' that Republicans want [those] things to continue, the audience boos (at arrowed lines 04/06). When she details what "[more of] the same" is, the audience boos these possibilities just before she completes the final word of the third item of the list (double arrowed line 15).

[ex. 2.25] "They see, they say" ~ H. Clinton
Feb 05, 2008 – New York, NY (Super Tuesday)

```
01    HCl:     Well, the Republicans want eight more years
02             of the same.=
03    A/m:                  =( [  )
04    AUD:  ->                 [boo::OO:::::::::[:::::::]=
05                             [They see:- (1.8) [.mt!=.h]
06          -> =[OO::::[::oo:::::[:::::((4.2))]
07    A/m:       |(0.7)|[(     )!=|
08    HCl:       |--  (1.7)  --| =[They see tax] cuts
09             for the wealthy an' they say "Why not
10             more,=.h=They see ni:ne, tri:llion dollars
11             in debt, (0.4) say "Why not trillions
12             mo:re," .hh They see fi:ve years in Iraq
13             'en say, (0.3) why: not a hundred
14             mo[re." .hh we:ll:,  (2.1)  [they've go:t=
15    AUD: =>>   [boo::[::::OO:::::::::::oo[:::((3.2))
16    Aud:             [chuckles
17    HCl:     =until January twentieth two thousand and
18             nine and not O[:NE DA:Y [more.
19    A/m:                   [woo!
20    AUD:                           [cheers-[CHEERS----
```

So, this type of boo is at somewhat of a crossroads in terms of affiliative and disaffiliative behavior. In booing, audiences show their disaffiliations with the 'subject [matter]' or the target of the remark (typically the candidate's opponent or the opposing party), but in the process demonstrate their affiliations with the speaker (as evidenced by the timing and trajectory of the response). For example, booing Sen. McCain (ex. 2.24) and the Republicans (ex. 2.25) in effect align with Obama and Hillary, respectively. This mix of dis/affiliation is perhaps the reason duration of the response falls somewhere between disaffiliative boos ("rarely last longer than 3 seconds") and affiliative responses (7-8 seconds).

And despite being an affiliative [type of] response, boos of this type typically respond to preliminary points rather than the main points (much in the same way that laughter does); and the main points are then met with cheers and applause. In ex. 2.24, after Obama lists off a series of these "it's the same course that…" items (beginning at line 18 of the transcript), he eventually concludes[88] with [the main point], "Well we are here tonight to say that this is not the America we believe in, and this is not the future we want. We want a new course for this country. We want new leadership in Washington. We want change in America." – a good portion of which is overlapped with cheers and applause. And in 2.25, Hillary lists off three 'hot-button' issues and mimics the Republicans' answer/s to them ("(issue) – why not more") – to which the audience boos. She then plays off her wording and responds (to the Republicans' 'why not more'), asserting that their time is limited ("until January 20th, 2009 and not one day more"). In response to this [main point], the audience responds with a loud bout of cheers.

(*VERBALIZATIONS*) "Verbalizations" produced by the audience as a single collective[89] – or what Lerner (2002) refers to as "choral co-productions" – are a special class of audience response. These are turns that entail the simultaneous production and formulation of actual words from the audience (rather than the singular open-ended vowel sound characteristic of

[88] Not listed in the selected excerpt, but for a full (simplified) transcript of the entire unit, see Appendix C.
[89] As opposed to the individual(istic) vocalizations some A/ms yell out.

vocalizations such as whoops and cheers). These verbalizations from the audience are relatively rare; however, given what we know about the issues surrounding collective responses, this seems reasonable given the amount of coordination required for hundreds – if not thousands – of participants to collectively shout the same words *at the same time* to the point where the response is intelligible. In terms of its rarity, not only do these occur only at campaign rally speeches (in terms of political occasions), but their [incredibly rare] occurrence at other unrelated occasions can be one of the several reasons for drawing a comparison – for saying that some event is 'more like a rally' (as mentioned in the beginning of the chapter). Also in terms of rarity, not every speech has even one single instance of a verbalization let alone more than one. There are a few ways for an audience to respond with a choral co-production, including responding in unison as a group (e.g., chanting, call-and-response pairs), or responding in unison *with* the speaker.

The first – and most regularly utilized (or, most frequently occurring) – of these is 'chanting.' A typical and successful chant has several distinguishing features, which (despite being an entirely affiliative response) include some elements of a mutual monitoring type of response: (a) following or emerging from a round of cheers/applause, (b) generally starting from a single or small group of audience member(s), starting off slow/quiet and eventually – if given the space and others do in fact join in – growing to a chorus (c) typically composed of the audience's take on what the speaker said[90], and made up of a four-beat pattern (often accompanied by claps on/at each beat) that is repeated several times over (i.e., "chanted"), and (d) a structure or trajectory [only] somewhat similar to affiliative responses.

(a) *Emerging from or coming out of a round of cheers/applause (most typically following a 'roar' or extra long stretch of CHEERS).* In other words, 'chants' are not the initial, immediate response that follow the speaker's turn; but, rather, they follow some other response – often times emerging as that initial response runs its natural course and

[90] Which we will fully address in Ch4 when we discuss 'action.'

begins to die down. For example, in excerpt 2.26, during a rally for Obama following the New Hampshire primary, after cheering in overlap for a large portion of Obama's message (from lines 12-17; audience's turns bolded), the cheering gets a boost as soon as he comes to completion (bolded turn at starred line 19). Once those 'CHEERS' begin to trail off and the response is coming to a close (becoming cheers/applause, bolded at line 20; some audience members slow or stop their applause and lower their signs, at double-starred lines 21-24), the beginnings of a chant emerge (at arrowed lines 26-27).

[ex. 2.26] "We want change" ~ B. Obama

Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua, NH (NH Primary)

```
01    Oba:     There's something='appening when, (0.5)
02             people vote not just for party. (0.6)
03             THAT they belong to, but (0.6) the
04             votes. (0.4) >eh-uh< the hopes that
05             they hold in common. (1.0) >eh=<whether
06             we are rich, or poor, (0.9) black=er=
07             =white, (0.4) Latino or Asian,=whether
08             we hail from Iowa, .h or New Hampshire,
09             .h Nevada, (.) or South Carolina, .h we
10             are ready, to take this country. .h in
11             a fundamentally, (.) new direction.
12             [THAT'S WHAT'S HAPPENING [.h  IN]
13    AUD:     [cheers-----------------[CHEERS]=
14    Oba:      [AMERICA RIGHT NOW. (0.4) CHA:NGE.]
15    AUD:     =[CHEERS-------------------------]=
16    Oba:      [.h IS WHAT'S HAPPENING. .h IN]
17    AUD:     =[CHEERS----------------------]=
18    Oba:      [AMERICA.]
19    AUD:   * =[CHEERS--]-CHEERS---CHEERS-(4.8)-=
```

```
20           * =ch{eers/applause----(3.8)---=
21  A/Pin:   **    {lowers sign
22    AUD:    * ={-appl{aus{e-[--------cla{pping------]
23  A/Gry:   **  {clapp{ing{st[ops        {lowers sign
24  A/Sui:   **  {clapp{ing{--[-{<clapping{-->{holds--]=
25  A/Grn:             {turns to left     {   {  {turns back
26    AUD:   ->               [°{we.  {wan{t. {cha{nge.°]↰
27           ->  (.) [{we.  [{want. [{change. (.)     |
                        {clap [{clap! [{clap!
```

Although Clayman points out that it is disaffiliative responses that have a preceding response coming between the 'target' and the response, those preceding responses are in fact "pre-" responses (e.g., buzzes and murmurs that precede boos); in this case, the responses that come between a 'chant' and the 'target' are in actuality full-fledged – and more often than not substantial and robust – responses. And so in this way, chants are *additional* responses because the audience has already responded to the message and have begun to wind down. For example, the 'CHEERS' have gone down to 'cheers/applause' and then down to 'applause' and then to 'clapping' (at lines 19-20/22). But it is not only the volume. We can find additional evidence in the physical behaviors of the audience members [visible since seated behind the speaker] that signal this initial response is coming to a close:

- the audience member with the pink sleeve, visible just over Obama's left shoulder (specific audience members hereby referred to as "A/*description*" – so here, "A/pink"[91]), stops waiving and lowers the sign (at line 21) just as the 'CHEERS' become 'cheers' (at line 20);

[91] When the need arises to reference individual A/ms, they will be referred to as "A/*description*" (as opposed to "A/m1" or "A/m2" for A/ms not on camera). For example, here the "A/m with the pink sleeve" will be referred to as "A/pink"; the "A/m in the suit" (above Obama's head) will be "A/suit"; the "A/m in the grey sweater" (just above Obama's

- "A/grey" is clapping, but just as the 'cheers/applause' dwindle to just 'applause' (at lines 20 to 22) he stops and then lowers his sign (at line 23);
- "A/suit" is also clapping, but then as the 'applause' dwindles to 'clapping' (at line 22) he (too) slows his clapping (at line 23); he then pauses – or "holds" his hands together – pausing for a brief moment (we will return to this in the next section).

And as the response comes to a close, some portion of the audience begins to vocalize something (arrowed lines 26-27). And when that happens, as we will see (below), several of them pick their signs back up, some begin clapping again, in preparation for the 'next response.'

(b) *Generally starting from a single or small group of audience member(s), starting off slow/quiet and eventually – if given the space and others join in – growing to a chorus.* The start of a chant always begins at a relatively low volume, which indicates that the start comes from a single or small group of audience members; and as it progresses, as others join, the chant slowly grows in volume. For example, if we look at how the chant from ex. 2.26 develops (excerpt continued below), the chant starts of low ("°we. want. change.° (.) we. want. change."; bolded and starred lines 26-27) but it then gradually grows louder ("we. want. CHANGE. (.) WE. WANT. CHANGE."; bolded and double-arrowed lines 32 and 35). And not only is the [low] volume an indication, but the non-verbal/inaudible behaviors of the individual participants also support this claim. For example, if we also look at the participants just as the initial response winds down (recall, at lines 20-24), when the vocalization first emerges (at starred line 26) none of the audience members 'on camera (seated behind the speaker)' are (yet) chanting; in fact they instead react to the chanting: turning to look, smiling, lifting [back 'up'] and shaking their signs, or clapping/chanting along (arrowed lines 25-36). And as those [visible] audience members slowly begin to join (numbered arrows #1-5),

---

right shoulder) will be "A/grey"; and the "A/m in red" (also just over Obama's right shoulder, next to "A/gre") will be referred to as "A/red."

the chant grows to a loud chorus (i.e., the “choral” co-production – at double-arrowed lines 32/35).

```
((continued from above))
20              =ch{eers/applause----(3.8)---=
21  A/Pin:         {lowers sign

22    AUD:      ={-appl{aus{e-[--------cla{pping------]
23  A/Gry:       {clapp{ing{st[ops         {lowers sign
24  A/Sui:       {clapp{ing{--[-{<clapping{-->{holds--]=
25  A/Grn:  ->         {turns to left      {   {  {turns back
26    AUD:   *               [°{we.  {wan{t. {cha{nge.°]↰

27           *  (.) [{we.  [{want. [{change. (.)     |
                      {clap [{clap! [{clap!
28  A/Grn: 1->      [{we   [{want. [{change.  ((joins))
29  A/Sui: 2-> =hold[{clap![{clap! [{clap!    ((joins))
30  A/Red: 3->       {bobs [{bobs  [{bobs     ((joins))
                           [{(w-)  [{change.
30    Oba:  ->              {grins [{turns to left
31  A/Gls:  ->              {turns left               (9.2)

32           =>  {we.     {want.  {CHANGE. (.)        |
                 {clap!   {clap!  {CLAP!
33  A/Gry: 4-> {{shake!  {shake! {shake!      ((joins))
               {((shaking and simultaneously lifting sign))
34  A/Gls:                      {turns to A/Grey

35           => {WE.   [{WANT. [{CHANGE. (.)       |
               {C!     [{C!    [{C!
36  A/Gls: 5-> {turns=[{want. [{change.       ((joins))
```

37 {WE. {WANT. {CHANGE. (.) |
{*C!* {*C!* {*C!* |

38 {WE. {WANT. {CHANGE. (.) {WE. {WANT. |
{*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* |

39 {CHANGE. (.) {WE. {WANT. {CHANGE. (.) |
{*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* |

40 [{WE. {WANT. {CHANGE. (.) [{WE. {WANT.
{*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!*

41 [{CHEERS----------
{CHANGE. (.) [°we. want°= ↵

42 A/m: [woo:::::::[:

43 A/m: =[woo::=

44 Oba: =<u>You</u>.

When the verbalization first becomes audible[92], several participants can be seen first "reacting" to it (most notably: A/Grn glances [to her] left[93], at line 25; A/Suit seems to pause or "hold" his clapping, at lines 24/29; Obama grins and glances [to his] left, at line 30; and A/Glasses glances also [to her] left, at line 31). Several participants then "join" the verbalization (most notably: A/Grn, A/Sui, and A/Red join upon completion of the first "we want change," arrows 1-3 at lines 28-30; while A/Grey and A/Glasses, arrows 4 and 5, join later, at lines 33 and 36, respectively).

[92] Although we have some indications that the vocalization begins before it becomes audible: at line 25, A/Grn turns left – which is, as we will see, the same direction other Obama and other A/ms turn after the vocalization becomes audible – just before it begins; and though it is hard to say because she gets partially blocked by the person in front of her, but A/red also turns left – and when she turns back, she begins chorally producing the vocalizaion. And this gives credence to the notion that an individual (or small group) starts it because it suggests that perhaps those in attendance can hear something even lower (in volume) that is not picked up in the recording.

[93] Given they all turn to the same direction, we can assume this is the direction of the source of the chant.

So although Clayman argues that 'mutual monitoring' types are disaffiliative, here we have a 'more than' affiliative response that in fact relies on mutual monitoring as its source for success: others must join in to this verbalization and only then it becomes a choral co-production (i.e., a chant); but to join, others must first recognize that that is what is happening and take cues from others (i.e., the "source/s") on what to do. Take for example A/Glasses. Notice that she first glances to her left (at line 31), and when she turns back she looks in the other direction – directly at other audience members (it appears she looks at A/Grey, at line 34); then as she turns back [to] center she, too, joins in the chant (at line 36). But in order for this to happen, these verbalizations need a way for participants to recognize a way to join: they need to know *when* they can join, and *how* they can contribute.

(c) *Typically composed of the audience's take on what the speaker said, and made up of a four-beat pattern (often accompanied by claps on/at each beat) that is repeated several times over (i.e., "chanted").* A chant is a "response" from the audience in the most canonical sense: an uptake or display of their 'perspective' of what the speaker just said. It has two main elements: a repeated phrase that is produced to a beat – a rhythm. The chant's composition (the 'phrase') is typically some display of understanding or perspective. But a chant also requires that the 'phrase' be produced to a 'beat' and repeated (or produced as a 'cycle') several times over – which upon production of the first couple of 'cycles' makes any particular verbalization recognizable as a chant and not some individual vocalization (e.g., a shout, etc.). Chants are overwhelmingly of a "four beat" structure, with the most typical format being a three-syllable phrase with a single beat pause, like:

- "we want change! (.)" – *and repeat* (as in 2.26), or
  (1) (2) (3) (.)
- "yes she will! (.)" – *and repeat* (as we will see in 2.31).
  (1) (2) (3) (.)

or (as we will see in later chapters) “O – Ba – Ma (.),” “Mac – Is – Back (.),” and “Hil – la – ry (.)” and “U – S – A (.).” But they can also be a two-syllable phrase, stretched to be ‘three + beat’ (e.g., in 2012 there were chants of “Ro – :: – mney (.)” and also “Ry – :: – an (.)”), an actual four-syllable phrase (with no pause/beat), or a four+ syllable phrase that is “rushed” through and produced as a ‘three + beat.’ For example, in ex. 2.27, the audience compresses a five-syllable phrase “race doesn’t matter” to a three-syllable chant

- “race doesn’t matter (.)"
  (1) (2) (3) (.)

[ex. 2.27] “Race Doesn’t Matter” ~ B. Obama
Jan 26, 2008 – Columbia, SC (Primary Rally)

```
01  Oba:     [After FOUR:::, (0.4)] after four great
02           contests. (0.6) in every corner of this
03           country.
04 A/ms:     (        [ )]
05  Oba:     |-(0.9)-|[we] ha::ve the most votes:,
06  Aud:     yeah/mi[ld cheers-----(1.7)]--=
07  Oba:     |(0.6)|[the most delegates,]
08  AUD:     =[CHEERS/APPLAUSE----cheers/applause((6.1))
09  Oba:     and the most diverse coalition of
10           Americ[ans that we've seen in a long]=
11  AUD:           [roAR-------------------------]=   ↰
12  Oba:     =[long time.                          ((8.8))
13  AUD:     =[ROAR---------((6.2))---CHEERS----]=     |
14           =[CHEERS---cheers/app[lause--------      ↵
15       ->                       [°race doesn’t matter!
16       -> (.)° race doesn’t matter! (.) race doesn’t
17       -> MATTER! (.) RACE DOESN’T MATTER! (.) RACE
```

18 -> DOESN'T MATTER! (.) RACE DOESN'T MATTER! (.)

19 -> RACE DOESN'T MATTER! (.) RACE DOESN'T MATTER!

20 -> (.) {RACE DOESN'T MATTER! (.) RACE DOESN'T

21 Oba: {*raises arms, palms facing down*

22 AUD: -> MATTER! (.) race doesn't ma[tter (.) °race=

23 Oba: [THERR:::,

24 AUD: -> =doesn't matt[er°

25 Oba: [You can see it in the faces here

Although [relatively] rare, there are also chants that are single-syllable items that are repeated at every beat, with every beat accompanied by a 'clap.' For example, in excerpt 2.28, the audience at Romney's rally in Michigan chant his name ("Mit! (.) Mit!"; at lines 38-40):

[ex. 2.28] "MIT!" ~ M. Romney

Jan 15, 2008 – Southfield, MI

01 Rom: I think they take their inspiration from the

02 Europe of o:ld. .hh big government, (0.2)

03 big brother, big taxes,=they fundamentally

05 in their hearts believe, that America is

06 great because we have a great government,

07 .hh and we do have a great government. (0.2)

08 .mh .hh=t=.h! But that's not what makes us

09 the best nation,=the strongest nation, .hh

10 the greatest nation on earth.=What makes us

11 such a great nation, .hh is the American

12 people.=I take my [inspiration, (0.2) .mh

13 A/m: [woo!

14 Rom: .t!=.hh from Ronald Reagan en George Herbert

Wal[ker Bu:[sh,=

A/m: [yeah!

A/m: [(m)eahhh!

AUD: =cheers/applause-------(5.1)=

=--clapping-[----

ROM: [who took their inspiration from

the American people.=har:dworking American

people. Pull[y-=people be]lieved=uh(n) .hh

A/m: [yeah::::::::]

ROM: in opportunity,=who loved .h

education.=Go:d-fearing people. .h people

who also loved their families.=people

<deeply p(h)atriotic.>=It is that, (.) .hh

characteristic of the American people that

makes us the most p(h)owerful .h! nation on

Earth.=Ro[nald Reagan, .h G]eorge Herbert

A/m: [(!)]

Walker Bush said we are a great and good

people, .hh it's exactly what we are, .h

it's why we will always be, .h the most (.)

p(h)owerful nation on Earth.

A/m: clap[pin[g--

A/M: [WOO[::

AUD: [cheers--CHEERS/APPLAUSE------(4.8)=

=chee[rs/applause----------

[<•mit! ((mit!• mit!)) mit! {MIT!>=

((*scattered*)) {*clap!*

={MIT! {MIT! {MIT! {MIT! {MIT! {MIT! {MIT!=

{*clap!*{*clap!*{*clap!*{*clap!*{*clap!*{*clap!*{*clap!*

This pattern both invites and allows collaboration from other audience members; the pattern creates a rhythm that is – similar to the open-ended quality of applause and vocalizations – what enables others to join in the chant after it is well under way, as evidenced by the gradual increase in volume (which is a result of more and more audience members gradually joining rather than the audience slowly chanting louder; recall that in 2.26 each of the five audience members that join the chant do so at different moments). This rhythm allows others to coordinate 'when' they [can/will] join. For example, recall in ex. 2.26 (reproduced below as 2.29) when the first three audience members recognize that other audience members are chanting. Both A/Suit and A/Red first join in by connecting with the *rhythm* before joining in the actual chant – A/Suit by holding his hands until the next 'cycle' starts before clapping along (at arrowed "r" line 29) and A/Red quickly 'bobbing' her head (at arrowed "r" line 30) before joining the chant verbally. And the 'repetition' provides 'what' or how they will contribute. For example, after the first cycle is heard[94] and recognized, A/Green joins in the chant (at arrowed "c" line 28), while A/Red joins mid-way through (at arrowed "c" line 30).

((as seen previously as 2.26))

[ex. 2.29] "We want change - beat" ~ B. Obama

Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua, NH (NH Primary)

```
24  A/Sui:      {clapp{ing{--[-{<clapping{-->{holds--]=
25  A/Grn:            {turns to left     {   {  {turns back
26    AUD:                  [°{we.  {wan{t. {cha{nge.°]↰

27              (.) [{we.  [{want. [{change. (.)     |
```

[94] When it is first heard in the audio, that is. There is some evidence to suggest that it may have started sooner – and registered by A/ms sooner: A/Green turns "left" *before* the first chant; when A/Red's face emerges from behind another A/m's sign she, too, is facing left. However, without undeniable evidence from the audio (which the 'cheers' cloud) we can only speculate and make note of the behavior.

```
                        {clap [{clap! [{clap!
28  A/Grn: c->        [{we   [{want. [{change.  ((joins))
29  A/Sui: r-> =hold[{clap![{clap! [{clap!    ((joins))
30  A/Red: r->        {bobs [{bobs  [{bobs     ((joins))
           c->              [{(w-)  [{change.
```

The repetition and rhythm are what provide a structure for the multitude of audience members to collectively produce a verbalization in unison (i.e., a "choral co-production"); it is a structure that (despite being a mutual monitoring situation) generates a trajectory very close to that of the affiliative vocalizations previously examined.

(d) *The repetition and rhythm provide a structure that produces a trajectory* [*only*] *somewhat similar to other affiliative responses.* Chants, if successful, (i) start off slow and quiet before (ii) reaching maximum intensity, and (iii) are sustained for while (around 9 chants, +/-1) before (iv) quieting down (if allowed to run its course) which then goes for another (much quieter) round or two. However, a significant difference between chants and other affiliative responses is that rather than take off with a burst, chants [as a result of point (b) above] take much longer than one second to escalate – usually reaching maximum by the second or third chant (which generally takes 2-3 seconds). For example, in ex. 2.30 the audience begins chanting at the tail end of the 'roar' (starred lines 14-15). It begins slowly and [relatively] quietly (arrowed "i" at line 18) before reaching a maximum intensity on the third chant (taking almost three seconds to so; double arrowed "ii" at line 19), where it continues for 10 chants (double arrowed "iii" at lines 20-24) before trailing off (arrowed "iv" at line 26-27):

[ex. 2.30] “Yes She Will!” ~ H. Clinton

Mar 04, 2008 — Columbus, OH (Ohio Primary)

```
01    HCl:          [Y'know, (0.4) they ca:ll Ohio] a
02                  bellwether state, .mh it's a
03                  battleground state, it's a
04                  s[tate  (0.2)  that  kno:]ws h[ow to ]=
05    A/m:           [•(   ) HILLARY (    )!•]
06    Aud:                                      [cheers]=
07    HCl:          =[PICK A PRESIDENT.=
08    AUD:          =[CHEERS-----------=ROAR---------(3.6)=
09                  =cheers---(1.6)=ap[plause-------]
10    HCl:                            [And, (0.6) n:]o,-=
11    A/m:          =WE LOVE Y[OU HILLARY!
12    HCl:                    [no candidate. (.) in recent
13                  history. (.) Democrat, or: Republican.
14                  .mh has won(uh), the White House
15                  without winning [.h THE OHIO PRIMARY.]=
16    AUD:        *                 [CHEERS-------------]=
17                * =ROAR-------------(10.1)-[cheers---]
18    Aud:    i  ->                         [yes. she.]
19    AUD:   ii =>> will. (.) yes. she. WILL. (.) YES. SHE.
20          iii =>> WILL. (.) YES. SHE. WILL. (.) YES. SHE.
21           |  =>> WILL. (.) YES. SHE. WILL. (.) YES. SHE.
22           |  =>> WILL. (.) YES. SHE. WILL. (.) YES. SHE.
23           |  =>> WILL. (.) YES. SHE. WILL. (.) YES.
24         (iii)=>> YE[S.  SHE.  WILL. ] (.) YES. SHE.
25    HIL:            ['n you all know.]
26    Aud:   iv  -> WILL. (.) yes. she. will. (.)
27          (iv) -> [°yes. she. will.°]
```

```
28    HIL:          [<You all know:,>] that, (.) if we want
29                  a: Democratic president, (0.2) we need
```

One way to see how the pattern – specifically the rhythm – provides for this type of a trajectory is to look at one type of chant that does not have a constant tempo, and see how that impacts the production of the chant. For example, as a single-syllable chants progresses towards their maximum intensity, the tempo also increases. As the chant continues, the tempo gets faster and faster – until the chant eventually reaches a point where it and the 'clap (to the beat)' begin to resemble cheers and applause. So by this time, the audience members are no longer coordinated in their chanting and the chant comes to an end. Take for example the single-syllable chant [previously mentioned] from Mitt Romney's night in Michigan: the chant begins slowly and quietly emerging out of cheers (taking 2.2 seconds for five "Mits!" just after cheers, as in arrow "i" at lines 38-39), it slowly picks up in volume (arrowed "ii" at line 40) and then in pace[95] (arrowed "ii" at line 41), eventually decreasing in volume (arrowed "iii" at line 43) while the pace continues to increase (taking only 0.8 seconds for three "Mits!") until the chanting /beat-claps become scattered clapping and cheers (arrowed "iv" at line 45).

```
((as seen previously as ex. 2.28))
[ex. 2.31]  "MIT!" ~ M. Romney
            Jan 15, 2008 – Southfield, MI

((first 35 lines omitted – but can be seen in ex. 2.28))
36  A/M:          [WOO[::
37  AUD:              [cheers--CHEERS/APPLAUSE------(4.8)=
38        i->  =chee[rs/applause----------
```

[95] The progression of the pace of the chant is indicated by the increase in symbols: ">(*talk*)<" and ">>(*talk*)<<" and ">>>(*talk*)<<<"; see explanation of transcript notations in Appendix A.

```
39        i->       [<•mit! (( mit!• mit! )) mit! {MIT!>=
                            (( scattered  ))      {clap!
                    |-              (2.2)             -|
40       ii-> ={MIT! {MIT! {MIT! {MIT! {MIT! {MIT! {MIT!=
                {clap!{clap!{clap!{clap!{clap!{clap!{clap!
41       ii-> = >{MIT!{MIT!{MIT!{MIT!{MIT!{MIT!{MIT!{MIT!=
                  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!
42            =  {MIT!{MIT!{MIT!{MIT!{MIT!{mit!{mit!< =
                  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!  {c!
43      iii-> = >>{mi[t!   {mit!   {m]it!<< =
                   {c!      {c!     {c!
44  Rom:              [Now you hear:d,]
45  AUD: iv-> = >>>|(({mit!{mit! [{•mit!•))|<<<
                   |  {c!  {c!   [{clapping|[---
                   | ((slightly scattered))|
46                 |             [cheers---|[---
                   |-        (0.8)        -|
47  Rom:                                    [You: heard
```

The increased pace makes it more difficult to coordinate and keep synchronized, and in all likelihood causes several to drop out (notice the volume decreases just around the time the pace really begins to pick up at line 42). So instead of slightly increasing in volume before trailing off (the 'plateau' then 'drop off' portion of the trajectory of affiliative responses), here the pace determines the end of the chant: the chant continues to gain speed until it becomes staggered and scattered before breaking up into very mild applause and cheers and eventually trailing off.

The features and resulting trajectory reveal several things. Although entirely affiliative, the slow start mirrors a structure like a "mutual monitoring" type of response; that is because *it is* a mutual monitoring situation. Chants emerge out of roars/cheers (point "(a)") as they

come to a close. At this point most audience members are preoccupied with the priority response (cheering). As a small section begins to chant (point "(b)"), the success of a chant relies on each audience member (1) recognizing what others are doing/chanting (which would account for the relatively slower [than cheers] start) and (2) agreeing with it (as appropriate)[96] by joining. These audience members have already provided a response; and in following a full, substantial response, with an uptake of what was just said (e.g., "change is happening" → "we want change" and "win the White House" → "yes she will" and "diverse coalition" → "race doesn't matter"), the chant qualifies as an *additional* [affiliative] response – one that goes above-and-beyond demonstrating something 'more than' simple applause mere agreement[97] (especially given the amount of coordination required to accomplish such a response).

('*Call-and-response' type Verbalizations*). As an additional response – one that goes above-and-beyond, verbalizations are the strongest way of displaying support for or affiliation with the speaker [or the speaker's point] but also for displaying a sense of togetherness and unity (given the amount of coordination required to achieve one, more so than with applause and vocalizations). So it is not surprising that speakers can exploit this willingness to burst into choral co-productions and proffer an opportunity for audiences to produce a verbalization in order to *show* how much support the candidate, campaign, or issue has (similar to the way one can 'demonstrate the support in numbers'); these moments can also serve to excite or ignite the crowd – and as we will see (in Ch4) even bring them together. Rather than being triggered by audience members (who also supply the content), with these types the speaker supplies the timing, the type, and the composition [of the audience's

[96] We will explore the notion of how the chants display agreement in Ch4; and we leave, for now, how some chants are successful and how some are not – save for the fact that "successful" chants have the above mentioned characteristics – to (perhaps) future research.
[97] We will revisit this when we explore what the implications are for particular responses when explicate 'action' and 'agreement' in Ch4.

response]: depending on how the speaker sets it up [for the audience to respond], speakers can ignite either a chant or single-burst verbalization.

Quite different from the typical verbalization, some of these exchanges can be likened to an African American discourse pattern called "call-and-response." These are rapid, spontaneous verbal (and sometimes nonverbal) interactions between speaker and listener, where a speaker's statements (the 'calls') are quickly followed or punctuated by expressions (the 'response/s') from the listener (Smitherman, 1977:104; "Call-and-response" definitions[98, 99]). Several scholars have written about call-and-response patterns in a wide variety of settings (c.f., Mitchell, 1970; Thompson, 1974; Smitherman, 1977; Davis, 1985; Foster, 1987, 1989, 2001, 2002; Kochman, 1990; Cohen-Cruz, 2005, 2010) – including artistic performances, language acquisition, musical expression, secular or religious ritual, and story-telling in African/African American culture or communication. As these suggest, the choral responses function to affirm or agree with the speaker (or the initiator) – indicating an extremely powerful affirmation of what the speaker has said (Thompson, 1974; Smitherman, 1977; Foster, 2002). However, not to be mistaken as strictly being an African or African American phenomena, these patterns or forms have also long been used in other realms and other types of public gatherings. For example, a popular cry at [non-election] rallies and protests is to 'call-and respond' the following slogan/chant goes something like:

[Leader]	[Response, in unison]
"Who are we?	((*insert response/GROUP*))
"What do we want?"	((*insert cause/GOAL*))
"When do we want it?"	"*NOW!!*"

[98] Call-and-response. (n.d.). *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Retrieved December 13, 2014, from Dictionary.com website: http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/call-and-response

[99] "Call-and-response." *Merriam-Webster.com*. Merriam-Webster, n.d. Web. 13 Dec. 2014. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/call-and-response>.

And these patterns are also heavily utilized to propagate noise and excitement at sporting events ("cheering"); for example, a common cheer heard at sporting events where the cheerleaders prompt the audience goes something like:

[(Cheer) Leader]	[Response, in unison]
G-O- let me here ya say GO!	*GO!*
That's right, unite, let me here you say FIGHT!	*FIGHT!*
W-I-N, let me here you say WIN!	*WIN!*
Together again GO, FIGHT, WIN!	*GO, FIGHT, WIN!*

So these are not new to areas outside of African/African American communities, but in 2008 these types of exchanges were catapulted to the forefront of the [American] cultural landscape when they were added to the narrative of civic discourse – namely, (as mentioned in the introduction) the campaign rallies.

In these election campaign rallies, speakers can incorporate remarks that set up these types of structures, and by doing so exploit the situation to invoke not only the perception of utmost agreement and affirmation but also the emotion behind such a powerful type of response[100]. So, although described as "spontaneous" they are not without preparation on the part of the speaker – to a varying degree for other occasions but *especially* the case here.

One way speakers can do this is by formulating a problem or issue – or, more likely, a series of problems/issues – and then also immediately following that produce a counter or riposte to it; similar to but not exactly like the "two-part" rhetorical devices (e.g., constrasts, unfavorable them/favorable us, headline/punchline, etc.), this format first produces the "voice of one position" (typically that of the opposition) and then immediately produces "the voice of the response [to that position]" (typically a 'counter' that affirms and bolsters

[100] Here we will stick to a structural analysis of what these are and what they look like; and reserve the analysis of *how* this gets done and just what the implications are for their use for later chapters (namely Ch4 and Ch5).

the campaign/constituents)[101]. Through the speaker's use of repetition in the 'issue' as well as the 'counter,' and formulating that counter as something "verbalizable" or "chantable" (less than four syllables, one that can be picked up by the audience – chanted or repeated easily), this can then prompt a choral co-production of that counter. Based entirely on where the speaker implements the repetition (and how the speaker projects how the counter fits within the structure of the pair), it can prompt a chant [that cycles the speaker's 'counter'], a single repeat that follows the speaker's production, or a response produced in unison with the speaker.

When motivating a chant, the speaker sets up the issue and then produces the counter – one that has a 'chantable' format; once the audience responds with cheers and applause, the speaker can repeat that 'counter' *within that same 'response' slot* (i.e., while the audience is cheering). By repeating the phrase – and possibly repeating it *again*, it invites (without explicit solicitation) the audience to follow suit and repeat the 'counter' as well. The result from this type of a setup is a chant, one with a structure that mirrors an audience member initiated chant: it emerges out of cheers, is low and slow to start, eventually reaches maximum intensity, and is sustained for 9 chants, +/-1. For example, in his rally speech closing out the New Hampshire primary, Obama first presents the voice of the opposition ("we've been told… (x3 items)" at lines 02-04). He immediately follows that by projecting [with a long lead-in] that a response will follow ("…have responded…" at lines 06-07) before finally producing a counter ("Yes, we can" – a 'chantable' – at line 07). Following his production of that counter, the audience cheers (at line 08). As the volume of the cheers begins to increase (but before it reaches maximum intensity), Obama repeats that 'counter' ("Yes we can" again, at arrowed line 10). And just over one second after he does, a small portion of the audience begins to chant it (though scattered, it is a start; at lines 08-09); and when Obama 'repeats' it again (at double-arrowed line 12), those scattered chants

[101] In Ch4 we will address the implication/s of responding with something other than a first-person perspective ("My response is/would be…" or "I have a response…"), which is most typical in a campaign speech.

(at double-arrowed line 11) become unified (at starred/double-arrowed line 12), which eventually builds in volume until it reaches a full chant (at line 13).

[ex. 2.32] "Yes we can SPKR" ~ B. Obama
Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua, NH (Rally)

```
01    Oba:     For when we have faced down impossible
02             o:dds:. (0.9) when we've been to:ld we're
03             not readeh. (0.4) or that we shouldn't
04             try:, (0.2) or that we ca:n't(h). (0.5)
05             generations of Americans have responded.
06             .h with a simple creed(h). that sums up
07             the spirit. of a people. (0.9) Yes,=we ca:n.

08    AUD:     cheeRS-[{-----------------((°°yes we [can°°))=
                                                 [°°yes°°=
                                      (1.1)((--scattered--))
09    Oba:  -> |(1.2)|[{Yes,=we {can.|-     (2.4)      -|
                       {nods twi{ce
                                {points index finger

10    Aud:  => =(([°yes. we. can° (.) yes.  ]))[an. (.) yes.
           *=>  (([°we. can. (.) yes. we. c°]))[an. (.) yes.
                ( --------scattered------- ))
11    Oba:  =>    [.mt   Ye:s,   we   ca:n.]

12    AUD:     {we. can. (.) {YES.  {WE.  {CAN. (.)
                             {clap  {clap {clap
13    Oba:     {turns head   {turns {grins
                              body
```

14 •Y[es,=we {can.]•

{*points index finger*

15 AUD: [{YES. {WE. {C]AN. (.) {YES. {WE. {CAN.

{*CLAP!*{*CLAP!*{*CLAP!* {*C!* {*C!*

16 (.) {YES. {WE. {CAN. (.) {YES. {WE. {CAN.

{*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!*

17 (.) {YES. {WE. {CAN. (.) {YES. {WE. {CAN.

{*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!*

18 (.) {YES. {WE. {CAN. (.) {yes. {we. {can.

{*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!*

19 (.) {yes. {we. {can. (.) {°yes. {we.°

The opportunity to respond with a chant is proferred up by the speaker, with the content of that potential response literally supplied in the unit to which they are responding (rather than deduced by a small group of audience member). It is the not only the provision of the 'counter,' ("we've been told… we <u>can't</u> → Yes, we can."), but the repetition that also plays a central role. When Obama repeats that 'chantable' while the audience is cheering, it provides a catalyst for a response from the audience (low level chants of "yes we can" emerge). Additionally, his subsequent repeat provides a tempo that unites the scattered chants (once Obama finishes "can" the scattered chants at line 10 become one single chant right at "can").

But it is not just repetition alone that aids the production of a particular type of response, but *where* the speaker utilizes the repetition/s. A speaker can also set up a series of 'first parts' using repetitive terminology, and follow each one with a repetitive [series of] 'second part/s'; eventually the audience picks up on the pattern, and can then "echo" that 'second part' in unison. For example, on the heels of the speaker proffered chant (ex. 2.32), Obama continues by

unpacking just 'who' the "generations of Americans" are (in line 05) that responded with that "simple creed" (in line 06). The repetition of "it was" (the creed was) as a first part followed by the same phrase/creed (as a sort of 'punchline') as a second part provides a structure for the audience members to follow along and be able to project its production – and by the third pair, they can respond with a repeat of that second (almost like an echo[102], "yes, we can" → "yes, we can" at arrowed and double-arrowed lines 40-41).

[ex. 2.33] "Yes we can ECHO" ~ B. Obama

Jan 08, 2008 — Nashua, NH (Rally)

((*first 17 lines omitted, but can be seen in 1.32*))

18 AUD: (.) {YES. {WE. {CAN. (.) {yes. {we. {can.

{*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!* {*C!*

19 (.) {yes. {we. {can. (.) {°yes. {we.°=

{*c!* {*c!* {*c!* {°*c!* {*c!* °

20 Oba: {*puts hand up*

((*as in 'stop'*))

21 AUD: =[{°c(an)-°

=[{°*c!* °

22 Oba: =[{It was a cree::d written into the

23 founding documents:. (0.4) that

24 decla:red the destineh, (.) of a nation.

25 (0.6) Yes,=we can.

26 (0.2)

27 A/m: ([ )

28 A/m: [([ )

29 Aud: [che[ers--

[102] The referece to it as an echo is in 'form' only; in terms of what it *does*, we will explore that in Ch4 when we discuss "action."

```
30    Oba:      |-   (0.8)   -|[It was whispered by sla:ves
31              and aboli_tionists. as they bla:zed a trai:l
32              towards freedom. (0.3) through the d_arkest
33              of nights:. [(0.5) [Yes,=we can.]
34    Aud:                  [claps-[--
35    Aud:                         [°cheers°-----]cheers--=
36    AUD:      =ch[eers---°cheers°]
37    Oba:         [.hh  It was su]:ng by immigrants:, as
38              they struck out. from distant sh_or:es='en
39              pioneers, .h who pushed w_estward(t), (.)
40              against an unforgiving wilderness:, (0.6)
41           -> Yes,=we can.
42    AUD: =>> y:_:e_s: we: c_a:_n:.
```

And this repetitive two-part pattern can also result in the audience opting to producing a choral co-production *in unison* with what the speaker says (i.e., "together/with" rather than "following"). In this particular type, a successive, rapid-fire list of issues are presented and each one then immediately followed by a counter – with the issues utilizing an identical format to begin each one and each counter the same phrase. This allows the audience to recognize and project the completion of each [first] unit, as well as the production of the 'counter.' For example, in a series of criticisms aimed at the current administration/government (referred to as "Washington"), Mitt Romney tells supporters at a rally following the Michigan Primary a laundry list of promises made by Washington. After each item 'Washington promised/told us' he retorts that they failed to follow through on these promises ("but they haven't" at arrowed lines 05, 14, and 19). Slowly, the audience begins answering along (at double-arrowed lines 13/15 and 18). And after these first staggered attempts at responding collectively, the speaker and audience finally co-produce the criticism in unison (at starred lines 21/22, 26/27, 30/31, and 37/38). The multi-

component combination ends with the speaker posing a question the entire group (a puzzle: "who's going to get the job done?" at line 39), prompting everyone to declare chorally – speaker included – that "we are" (at starred lines 40-41), they are their own solution as they are going to get these [failed promises] done.

[ex. 2.34] "But they haven't" ~ M. Romney
Jan 15, 2008 – Southfield, MI (MI Primary)

```
01    Aud:     [clapping----------------------]
02    Rom:     [You see- (0.9) America-, (0.2)] America
03             undershtands, (0.2) .mt that Washin(g)ton
04             has promised .h that they'd secure our
05          -> borders. .hh But they haven't.
06    A/m:     Right.=
07    A/m:           =no=
08    A/m:              =y[eah
09    A/m:                [right
10    Rom:                [>Washin'[ton< told us that they
11    A/m:                         [right!
12    Rom:     would=uh live by high ethical st_a_ndards.
13    A/m: =>> But they h_a_[ven't!
14    Rom:  ->             [But [they haven't.
15    Aud: =>>                  [they haven't! ((staggered))
16    Rom:     Washin'n told us thet they'd fix social
17             sec_ur_ity,
18    AUD: ->> BUT [ T H E Y     H A]VEN'T!=
19    Rom:  ->     [But they haven't] (0.6)=Wash'n'n told
20             us thet .h! they'd get us better health care
21           * 'n better education. (.) [But they haven't.
22    AUD:   *                          [BUT THEY HAVEN'T!
```

```
23    Rom:     Wash'n=told us they'd us get a tax break for
24             the middle income Americans.=
25    A/m:     =[(  [     )
26    Rom:  *   (.)[But they haven't
27    AUD:  *      [But they haven't
28    Rom:     Washin'=told=us thet they'd cut back on the
29             ear marks and pork barrel spending, .h=
30    Rom:  * =[But they haven't
31    AUD:  *  [B u t  t h e y  [haven't
32    A/m:                      [(they lied)=
33    Rom:                                  =And Washin'=
34             =told us they'd reduce our dependence on
35             foreign oil,=
36    ( ):                =(    [ ) ((child screaming))
37    Rom:  *              (0.2)[B[ut they haven't
38    AUD:  *                    [B u t  t h e y  haven't
39    Rom:     And who's going to get the job done?
40    Rom:  * [We are. (.) We are!
41    AUD:  * [WE ARE! [(.) W E  A [R E!
42    AUD:             [cheers-----[CHEERS/APPLAUSE------=
                                   |-     ((3.6))     -|
43             =-[---------------------------------
```

In every way, the production of these types of collective verbalizations in the first place rely on the speaker's recognition that the audience is limited to (or, at least, should be[103]) what they can produce as a single unit; the speaker must also recognize what form a verbalization would need to take (a short, 4-syllables-or-less, chantable phrase), and then set

[103] In Ch2 we will explore what happens A/ms do not refrain from responding as a collective when we examine rule violations and methods for dealing with them.

up that counter to reflect those limitations. In the second place, they rely on an audience member's ability to recognize said pattern, but also recognize that others recognize it, too. So these types, too, are a mutual monitoring type of affiliative response: once audience members recognize that others recognize and some are producing the choral (re)production, they join (too). This [gradual] recognition of the pattern and the unfolding 'event' is evidenced by the progressive build-up of the response/s from one pair to the next.

The cultural and situational perspectives on the use of these response forms provide some insight into our structural analysis but also some support for our claim that these convey utmost agreement and alignment[104]. For instance, Thompson (1974) describes call-and-response (as far as music and dance) as "perfected social interaction" involving "qualities of social integration and cohesion" (p. 28); Benjamin (2009) argues that "call-and-response marks involvement and congruent understanding… as a means of displaying approval and [of] bringing caller and responder closer together" (p. 125); and Daniel and Smitherman (1976) specify that "as a communicative strategy this call and response is the manifestation of the cultural dynamic which finds audience and listener or leader and background to be a unified whole (cited in Spady 2000:59).

This is most illuminated in the cases that are not a result of 'mutual monitoring' but in the [very special] cases where co-production is the result of independent decision-making. As the two previous types demonstrate, there is a 'curve' to the production of some verbalizations (the slow and gradual progression/realization before it reaches maximum intensity customary of mutual monitoring type turns). Cohesion and congruent understanding can be best reflected in a one-time verbal response from the audience that not only coincides with what the speaker says, but is produced *at the same time*. For example, in a rally following the South Carolina Primary, Obama sets up a two-part structure in very much the same way as the previous excerpts. He first presents an issue/at-odds-position ("when we are met with…" at lines 25/27). Then, immediately following, he

[104] We will explore this in more detail in Ch4.

formulates the response by first projecting its delivery ("the message we've carried…" at lines 11-12; "the same message we had…" at lines 19; and "we will respond…" at line 31) before finally producing it: Yes we can. And when he produces it, rather than "echo" the sentiment, the audience produces it in complete unison with the speaker (at arrowed lines 36/38).

[ex. 2.35] "Yes, we can (choral)" ~ B. Obama
Jan 26, 2008 — South Carolina (Rally)

```
01    Oba:    [YE:S:, (0.5)] WE CAN(uh) heal this nation.
02    Aud:    cheers---[-------
03    Oba:    |-(0.9)-|[YE:S:, (.) WE CAN(uh) seize our
04            future.
05    Aud:    cheers-[--------
06    Oba:    |(0.7)|[And as we le:ave(uh) this great
07            state. (0.4) with a new wind in our backs.
08    Aud:    cheer[s--
09    Oba:    (0.4)[and we take this journey across:, (.)
10    Aud:    this great country,
11    Aud:    cheer[s--
12    Oba:    (0.3)[a country we LO::VE(uh), .hh with=the
13            message we've carried from the plai:ns of
14            Iowa, .h to the hills of New Hampshire.
15    Aud:    cheers-[---
16    Oba:    |(0.6)|[from the N'vada desert, (.) to the
17            South Carolina coa:st.
18    Aud:    cheer[s----------------------
19    Oba:    (0.4)[the same message we HA:D, .h when we
20            were U:P, (0.2) and when we were down.
21    Aud:    cheers-[-------------°cheers°----------]=
```

```
22    Oba:      |(0.7)|[that OUT=OF MANY(h), .h WE ARE]=

23              =[ONE(h). .h THAT WHILE WE BREA:THE(h), WE]=
24    Aud:      =[°cheers°---------------------------------]=

25    Oba:      =[WILL HOPE(h),=[(.)an' WHE:R[:E, WE ARE]=
26    Aud:      =[°cheers°-------[cheers------[°cheers°---]=

27    Oba:      =MET WITH <CYNICISM, AN'=DOU:BT(h),=.h=AN']=
28   A/ms:      =[°((random shouting and clapping-------))°]=

29    Oba:      =[FE:AR:,> .h AND THOSE WHO TELL US, .h]=
30   A/ms:      =[°((random shouting and clapping----))°]=

31    Oba:      =[that we can't(h). (0.3)] we will respo:nd
32   A/ms:      =[°((shouting/clapping-))°]

33    Oba:      with that timeless cree:d, that sums=UP, .h
34              .h THE SPIRIT, .h OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, .h
35              IN THREE SIMPLE WOR:DS,=

36    Oba:  -> =[{.hh <[YES,(.)]  [WE, (.)] [CAN.> (.)
37   A/ms:      =[{chatt[er
38    AUD:  ->         y[YYE:S:.] w[WE:::. ] [CAN.

39    Oba:      THANK YOU SOUTH CAROLINA.=I LOVE YOU.
```

As Foster (1989) points out, these types of responses can be unsolicited and spontaneously interjected (as with the audience member launched chants), or follow from a speaker's eliciting them by manipulating their own discourse (as with the speaker proffered opportunities to verbalize). By "calling upon" this type of structure, speakers can invoke a slightly different group or setting/atmosphere – almost like a political congregation; and (as we will see in much more detail in Chapter 4) when it is a 'congregation of political

supporters' responding in this way, it is a strong – if not the strongest – display and particularly punctuating for virtually all of the reasons just listed. It is a bursting verbalization done in unison with virtually no lead in. In part, it derives its spiritual or emotional element from the early recognition by hundreds if not thousands who then reach the same conclusion at the same time to produce the same response.

And though Foster notes it also possible specifically requesting them, Thompson (1974) points us to the dangers of 'no response.' Take for example a Romney/Ryan rally outside Dayton, Ohio (September 25, 2012), where reportedly [and also contested[105]] Romney attempted to prompt a chant from the audience – or more specifically, prompt a *different* chant, and failed. They reported that the audience was chanting "Ryan, Ryan" and he said "wait a second, wait a second – 'Romney-Ryan, Romney-Ryan, Romney-Ryan, there we go, alright, that's great" but the audience did not in fact follow suit. The analysts then discussed the failure – mocking Romney for his attempts to insert his name into the chant and failing. This illustrates quite frankly why these types of 'verbalizations' are not a result of direct requests from speakers; it reflects what Thompson 1974 referred to as "the terror of losing one's grip on the chorus" or the Azande [example], "Don't let people remain silent during my songs.' (Evans-Pritchard, 1928:455-456).

As this example points out, things do not always go according to plan. Having now laid out the basic fundamentals of turn taking for speeches at political campaign rallies, we turn our attention to the contingencies that may arise in these interactions. As we know, things are not always as perfect, simple, or ideal as this chapter outlines. In ordinary conversation, "[r]epair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations;

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[105] MSNBC's Mika Brzezinski reported on this, stating that "Today's NYT report that aides to Mitt Romney say the Republican candidate and running mate Paul Ryan will be campaigning together more often in the coming weeks… the move underscores concerns Mr. Romney is not generating enough excitement on his own, and needs Mr. Ryan to fire up supporters." That may have been evident during a campaign stop yesterday outside Dayton…" (and they play a clip). However, the actual report states it slightly more neutralistic ("But having them campaign together more suggested that aides enjoy the enthusiasm and excitement bump the two men generate on the same stage, when Mr. Ryan's presence often energizes both the crowd and Mr. Romney" (retrieved from:). In addition, several other outlets reported from members of the audience who contested that account (see Weigel, 2012).

e.g., if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble (cf. 4.14)" (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974, pp.701). However, with so many restrictions (compared to conversation), even the self-righting mechanism for speeches must work within the confines of the roles of the participants. So, what happens when there issues with or violations of this normative turn-taking structure?

CHAPTER 3 - ELECTION CAMPAIGN RALLY SPEECH:

Turn Taking, Contingencies, and Enforcement

So far we have laid out some of the basic features of the institutional and social context that shape campaign rallies as occasions for interaction. In doing so, we have also shown how this institutional form is "talked into being" (Drew and Heritage, 1992) via systematic alterations to the basic practices used to coordinate opportunities to produce actions as well as the specialized participation framework that participants orient to in this institutional context. So, when we put all of this together, what do the recurring exchanges between speakers and audiences look like? What sorts of things come up when participants depart from these normative expectations? What do these infractions or violations look like – and what happens after they occur? Are they dealt with, and If so, how? And what can this tell us about the structure of the occasion?

As Drew and Heritage (1992), and later Heritage and Clayman (2010) have observed: Institutional occasions are constituted (among other things) through a reduction of the range of practices available to speakers, and a specialization of the practices that remain. As described in Chapter 1, just which of those features gets restricted – and in what way – determines the institutional fingerprint for any occasion. In addition, in occasions involving speeches, the participants' conduct both displays and realizes the institutional character for the encounter, and does so recurrently (i.e., on an action by action basis) and pervasively (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991:95). In other words, the continuation of the exchange as an institutional one relies on participants continually and repeatedly producing, reproducing, and maintaining the framework of the occasion as it continues to unfold. This means that when any participants break from the framework or structure of the institutional occasion, (1) it should be noticeable and (2) other participants may strive to manage the departure or its implications.

While exchanges that are typical for an institutional context can be used to illustrate how such contexts are talked into being, one can also learn a great deal about institutional contexts by examining occasions where participants violate basic normative expectations regarding the participation framework (or the practices of turn-taking that underpin it) that are constitutive of the occasion. As Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) explain, "apparent violations of the rule set demonstrate[s] how those apparent violations are actually robust illustrations of how closely members do orient to the rules" (p. 54). Given what we know about the structure of political campaign rally speeches, what are the sorts of violations that occur? When and where do such violations occur? How are they managed, what sorts of practices are deployed – and by whom? And, what does this tell us about the sort of institutional occasion this is?

As laid out in Chapter 2, although some aspects of campaign rally speeches resemble ordinary conversation (e.g., exchanges between parties occurs and recurs, one party at a time, occurrences of more than one at a time are common but brief, turn transitions occur near or at transition relevant places with little to no gap), in other ways the opportunities for participation are actually quite limited. These limitations primarily relate to how and when parties can contribute to the encounter, and the sorts of actions they can produce when they do contribute. As this chapter will demonstrate, these limitations are what most typically cause issues. So, this chapter will begin the investigation into these matters by:

(1) Using the features of campaign rally speeches discussed in the previous chapters to produce an account of the basic organization of exchanges between speakers and audiences and identify some of the key norms that underpin that institutional form;

(2) Laying out the evidence that participants orient to the norms we have identified by describing some of the routine forms of trouble that emerge in these encounters, how or where they occur, and what participants do to manage them. This includes examining contingencies relating to establishing the participation framework for the occasion – and the turn taking system that underpins it, as well as the troubles that speakers may

encounter when audience members yell or cheer in the course of an in-progress turn (i.e., before transition to the audience is relevant), or when audience members disrupt or heckle the speaker. In the process of considering these different types of trouble we will also examine participants' efforts to establish, retain, or resume the institutional framework for the occasion.

(3) Finally, we will briefly reflect on what these troubles and the practices for managing them tell us about the institutional framework for campaign rallies, and consider the broader implications such troubles and their management can have for the campaigns of which they are a part.

3.1 TURN-TAKING IN CAMPAIGN RALLY SPEECHES

Understanding the forms of trouble that can occur in the encounters (and especially occasions where participants violate normative expectations) will be facilitated first examining how the components of the campaign rally described in Chapter 2 co-operate in the interactions between speakers and audience members in these events. Previous research on public speeches have primarily focused on speakers' turns by examining the various methods they use to enable diverse audience members to coordinate the their responses to produce forms of collective appreciation – applause. In this section we will take a deeper look at the basic system participants use to coordinate opportunities for action – the turn-taking system for campaign rally speeches. In particular we will examine the mechanics behind transitions from speaker → audience, identify some basic or key elements of the audience's responses, and then consider the transition from audience → speaker. Analyzing these elements will help enable us to examine some of the ways that speakers can exploit these transitions, and how the audience's grasp of what is happening can be reflected in the calibration of their responses – and why this matters[106].

[106] As we will see later in this chapter, transition/s are a crucial moment and tight transitions (or not) can have a significant impact for the organization of agreement/preferred responses (which will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 4);

Campaign rally speeches are organized as encounters between two parties, a speaker and the audience (which is composed of many people acting as a single unit; see Lerner, 1993, for a discussion of "collectivities in action"). These parties are afforded asymmetrical opportunities for participation. While speakers produce extended turns are talk, audiences members primarily produce 'collective' – and therefore responsive – actions. The resulting unequal distribution of opportunities for participation – which limits speakers to producing initiating actions and audience members to responses – has several consequences. First, the reduced range of turn types shapes the available options for *allocating* a next turn. Since transitions to next speaker are no longer negotiated at the completion of every TCU, speakers can produce turns composed of multiple units. In such long turns, participants must rely on other production features (e.g., rhetorical devices, prosody, and other elements of turn design) to indicate the transition relevance of possibly complete TCUs. This then means that within their turn speakers must somehow convey at each possible completion whether transition is relevant – or not. In other words, speakers can (and most often do) indicate *when* the audience should respond if they are to secure those tight transitions (with "little to no gap") between turns. Take, for example, the following exchange at a rally for former Governor Mitt Romney following the Michigan Primary. Romney speaks, on occasion getting more than one TCU; and the audience cheers and applauds at certain points and not others. The audience does not self-select at the possible completion of each TCU (e.g., at lines 02 and 07), but rather only responds at places that Romney projects (through the design of the in progress turn) as transition relevant (at lines 03 and 08), producing applause precisely at the moment/s of their completion (at lines 04 and 09).

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these issues, in turn, can have shape how the overall structural organization of extended turns are composed, and how such turns can be organized can shape the occasion as a whole (which will be discussed in Chapter 5).

(previously [ex. 2.10] and [2.37])

[ex. 3.01] "Tonight" ~ M. Romney

Jan 15, 2008 – Southfield, MI (MI Primary)

```
01    Rom:    Tonight, (1.1) .t! (0.8) tonight marks the
02            beginning of a comeback, (.) a comeback for
03            America.
04    AUD:    chEERS--------[clapping-----------------]
05    Rom:    |- ((4.8)) -| [You know only, (0.3) only] a
06            week ago:, a=uh- a win looked like it was
07            impossible, .h! but then you got out and
08            to:ld America what they needed to hear.
09    AUD:    CHEERS--------[clapping---------------]
10    Rom:    |- ((6.0)) -| [You said we would fight] for
```

Romney declares the evening to be the start of comeback (at lines 01-02). This sets up a puzzle (the start of what comeback – *for whom?*) that suspends the transition relevance [at the possible completion of that TCU] by projecting that there still is more to his turn before it is complete (so therefore not yet transition relevant). We note that the audience holds off (see the a micro-pause at line 02), as they apparently wait to hear *whose* comeback. Romney then follows this first TCU with an increment ("a comeback for America") that supplies the solution to the puzzle (at lines 02-03). The audience immediately responds to this with a collective burst of cheers/applause (at line 04). Similarly, his next turn begins with a TCU that also projects that more will follow: "…a win looked like it was impossible," (at lines 05-07). Using "looked like" (along with the slightly upwards intonation at the end of the TCU, at line 07) projects that a contrasting next item is on its way. This time he produces a further complete sentential TCU ("but then you…" at lines 07-08). The audience again responds collectively with a burst of cheers/applause (at line 09), leaving no gap between the completion of Romney's TCU and the responding round of applause that it attracts.

Another indicator that these are moments designed for a response is in the speaker's behavior following the completion of the unit that gets the response. A closer look at Romney's first compound unit (at lines 01–03), for example, shows a drastic difference in physical displays after he finishes each of the two different components. Immediately after completing the first portion ("… beginning of a comeback…" at line 02), he switches from delivering it to immediately preparing for the next unit. His mouth remains open while his hands immediately shift (from extended out) to an index finger pointing up just before he starts "a comeback for…" – see figures 3.6a and 3.6b below), which, among other features, indicates more is on its way. However, after completing the second component ("…a comeback for America." at lines 02–03), his mouth immediately closes and remains shut while his hands move down to the podium (at "America" his finger is still extended, but at the moment of completion his hand drops – see figures 3.6c and 3.6d below) – indicating no intention to begin a next unit (i.e., completion). Additionally, as the response takes off, Romney stands quietly and motionless at the podium – a position he holds for several seconds as he basks in the continuing response.

⇓⇓⇓⇓ ⇓⇓

"...beginning of a comeback (.) a comeback for..."

Figure 3.6a, 3.6b Showing "Preparing for the next unit"
Romney delivering his speech
figure 3.6a showing "…back"
figure 3.6b showing "a…"

⇓⇓

"a comeback for America." ... (at completion, as AUD cheers)

Figure 3.6c, 3.6d Showing "unit completion"
Romney delivering his speech –
figure 3.6c showing "…America."
figure 3.6d showing "post-completion"

As in other contexts for interactions, speakers use TCUs that project the possible completion of in-progress turns, enabling perfectly timed transitions to the forms of collective appreciation audiences produce; they can provide an opportunity for audiences to respond slightly early[107]. Early responses can happen when audiences recognize where a speaker is headed with her turn before it is possibly complete; in such cases audiences may begin responding in overlap with the projectable completion of the turn (see also Jefferson, 2004 (1975); Atkinson, 1984a; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986). For example, during a rally in Ohio on the night of the Wisconsin primary, Hillary Clinton discusses some of the difficulties Americans are facing (lines 01–06). The turn she composes includes a negative assessment of a [potential] President who does not understand their plight (lines 06–08). Some of the audience cheer and clap before the unit is complete but already apparent where her turn is headed (line 07–12).

[ex. 3.02] "They cannot afford" ~ H. Clinton
Feb. 19, 2008 Youngstown, OH (WI Primary)

01	HCl:	because I: know what's happening in America.
02		People are struggling. (0.3) They're working
03		the day:- shift. the ni:ght shift. They're
04		trying to get by without health care.
05		They're just one paycheck away from losing
06		their homes. They cannot afford, four more
07		years of a president, (.) who just doesn't
08		[see or [hear [them at [all.
09	A/m:	[YEAHH!
10	A/m:	[clapping---
11	A/m:	[clapping

[107] The implications and connections between the audience's early response/s and 'agreement' will be discussed in Ch4.

```
12    AUD:                    [cheer---[CHEER------------]=
                              |-         (7.4)          -|
13              =ch[eer---------
14    HCl:          [They need a president ready on day one
```

Hillary first begins by claiming that she knows what's happening to Americans ("because I know what's happening…", line 01-02). By 'headlining' the issues in this way, she suspends the transition relevance of that TCU's possible completion by projecting that she will list what she "knows." The audience withholds their response while she lists the ways that financial hardships affect Americans (at lines 02–06). Then, what may appear to be another item on the list ("They cannot afford…" at line 06) turns out to be a negative assessment of a [potential] President who doesn't recognize these struggles (from lines 06–07). Before she can produce what the candidate lacks ("who just doesn't…": understand, get it, etc.), some of the audience have already begun to respond (at lines 07) to the turn's anticipated completion by cheering and clapping before her turn is complete (at line 08 – "hear them at all"). Although some audience members respond to each of the following components of Clinton's turn, these are not possible completions of the TCU:

- "a President who just doesn't" – is not grammatically complete, yet audience members cheer and clap (lines 09 and 10);
- "…see or" –is also not grammatically complete in this sequential context, yet audience member begins clapping, line 11;
- Similarly, although the audience begins to respond (by cheering in line 12) at "or hear" it is not grammatically complete in this sequential context.

In these cases, the audience responds as two elements of the turn – the target of the evaluation and its negative valence – become apparent. These two items allow audience to anticipate the turn's projectable completion, and an increasing number of audience member's begin to cheer and applaud in overlap with the completion of the speaker's turn.

Finally once she brings the turn to completion, the audience – as a whole – produces a burst of applause.

Even though audience's responses are not organized into grammatically structured units in the same way, they also have projectable possible completions. As a consequence, when the transition is from audience→speaker, speakers can similarly begin next turns in anticipation of their completion, resulting in some overlap with the tail end of their production. Given the possible negative ramifications associated with gaps, speakers may seek to intersect (and thus cut-off) low levels of applause by beginning to speak in overlap with the audience's response before it is completely exhausted (thereby also avoiding silence). But, given the collective forms of responses possible for the audience – which lack a grammar or syntax that projects their possible completion – just how are transitions from audience to the speaker managed? That is where the trajectory of the response becomes helpful. Changes in the volume and intensity of the audience's collective response allows the speaker [to project] a "point of (re)entry" in the course of the audience's response. (As we reported in Chapter 2, the audiences' turns have a typical trajectory, with a noticeable decrease in intensity and volume of the applause projecting its possible completion). This allows speakers to project when the [collective] unit is possibly coming to a close at which point the speaker can begin a new/the next unit. For example, take the transition from the audience back to Hillary (at lines 13–14).

```
12    AUD:                    [cheer---[CHEER-----------]=
                              |-       (( 7.4 ))        -|
13              =ch[eer---------
14    HCl:         [They need a president ready on day one
```

The audience's response follows the typical trajectory, and as the volume of the cheers settle down (at line 13), Hillary picks up her next turn *before the crowd goes silent*. As with the turn taking system for conversation, such brief overlaps reflect the routine operation of

the turn taking system (rather than a violation of it). In the context of speeches, however, a speaker beginning her turn can actually prompt remaining audience members drop out, bring their in-progress response to a close. For example, we can note a similar pattern in [ex. 3.01]: Romney does not wait for the audience to become completely silent before beginning new turns (at lines 04-to-05 and 09-to-10 in ex. 3.01):

```
04    AUD:     CHEERS--------[clapping-----------------]
05    Rom:     |- ((4.8)) -| [You know only, (0.3) only] a

...

09    AUD:     CHEERS--------[clapping---------------]
10    Rom:     |- ((6.0)) -| [You said we would fight] for
```

During both of the audiences' turns (at lines 04 and 09), Romney begins his next turn as the response begins to die down, overlapping at the tail end of their response/s[108].

In the preceding discussion we have noted that the turn taking system used to coordinate opportunities for action in campaign rallies provides speakers the opportunity to produce multi-unit turns (as a matter of course). Another consequence of this system is that it allows speakers to use those multi-unit turns to produce complex combinations of various rhetorical devices. Such complex compositions – which Atkinson characterizes as "combining forces" (1984a:93) – are very regular occurrences in campaign rally speeches. As Atkinson describes it, the combination of forces – or using "'charisma as a method" – entails speakers producing complex rhetorical forms in coordination with other resources for producing actions (intonation, rhythm, and visible forms of conduct). But as Atkinson also points out, using data from party conference speeches and other occasions, because the deployment of combinations of practices maximizes the chances that supporters of a

[108] In Chapter 5 we will revisit Atkinson's notion of 'charisma as a method' and 'charismatic speakers/authority' at which point we will discuss the impact/s of a gap between transitions.

position will notice at least one of them (enabling them to anticipate the possible completion of the turn and gear up to produce a burst of applause), they are particularly useful in drowning out (potential) dissent from opposing factions in the audience (1984a:94). However, as pointed out in Chapter 1, campaign rally speeches are quite different from party conferences; speakers at campaign rallies rarely encounter opposing factions in the audience. And as we shall see, when they do (for example when hecklers attempt to disrupt the gathering) the resulting troubles are dealt with using a very different set of practices.

In campaign rally speeches, the recognizability of these rhetorical forms not only aids in the coordination of responses by diverse audience members, it also enables speakers to use complex turns involving 'combined forces' to manage other contingencies. For example, such combinations can lead the audience step-by-step through a complicated set of issues (presented as a complex combination), while still giving them brief moments to respond, thereby allowing speakers to "[keep] audiences awake" (Atkinson, 1984a) through extended spates of talk. That audience's recognize that such complex turns are in progress can be reflected in the ways that they calibrate their applause (in terms of its volume or intensity) relative each units position *within the compound unit* produced by the speaker[109]. (As mentioned in Ch2, the volume or intensity of the audience's response can also be adjusted to reflect the degree to which they agree/approve of a speaker's message). That is, the audience can calibrate the volume and intensity of its responses to reflect its understanding that the point to which they are responding is worthy of agreement, even it is only preliminary to the speaker's main point. Put simply, these earlier units get smaller responses, while the "big-ticket items" get bigger responses. For example, during a rally in Columbia South Carolina, Obama speaks to the crowd about some of the campaign's issues. Though each of these points is packaged in a possibly complete TCU to which the audience

[109] And as we will see later in this section and in Chapter 5, speakers can exploit this feature and use complex rhetorical units to engender overlap competition, thereby building up a more boisterous response.

could respond they are constructed so as to project that they are parts of a larger unit[110] (at lines 03/06-10, 15- 9, 24-29, culminating at 31-34). The resulting construction provides opportunities for the audience to cheer at the possible completion of each unit, while also enabling the audience to calibrate its responses so that its appreciation of each successive unit is louder and longer (at lines 11-14, 21-22, 30, peaking (for now – see footnote 6) at line 35).

[ex. 3.03] "Clean case" ~ B. Obama
Jan. 26, 2008 — Columbia, SC (Rally)

```
01    AUD:     {WANT. {CHANGE! (.) {WE. {WANT. {CHANGE!=
02    Aud:     {fist pump
                      {fp          {fp  {fp    {fp
03    Oba:     =BU:T.=
04    AUD:       (.) =we. want. change.=
05    Oba:                              = .t! (0.3)
06              if there's anything, though:, (.)
07              that we've been reminded of. (0.2)
08              since Iowa. (0.9) it's that the ki:nd
09              of change we seek, (0.9) will not
10              come easy.
11    A/m:  -> that's [ri::[ght!
12    Aud:  ->        [(rum[blings)
13    Aud:  ->             [that's ri[ght!
14    A/m:                           [(     [   )
15    Oba:     |-         (2.4)        -|  [>Now,<=
16              =partly because we ha:ve, (0.2) fine
```

[110] This excerpt is part of a much larger unit – one that we will examine later in this chapter and again in Chapter 5 when we discuss "charisma"; this is just a very small portion extracted to show the calibrated responses.

```
17              candidates, in this field. (0.6)
18              fierce competitor:s, who are
19              wortheh:y, (0.4) of our respect(h),
20              [and our admiration.]=
21    Aud:      [((mild)) applause--]=
22    AUD:      =applause/{cheers------app[lause-]=
23    Oba:       |-(1.0)-|{nods nod nod   |
24               |-         (5.4)       -|[an'=as]=
25              =[contentious as this cam]paign(h),
26    Aud:      =[clapping---------------]
27              (0.2) may get. (0.3) we haftuh=remember
28              that this is a contest (.) for the
29              Democratic nomination
30    Aud:   -> cheers---°c[heers°----
31    Oba:      |- (0.9) -|[and that all of us share
32              an abiding desire to end the
33              disastrous p(h)olicies, .h of the
34              current administration.
35    AUD: =>> cheERS/APPLAUSE-cheers--------clap[ping
36    Oba:      |-              ((7.8))         -|[But
37              there aR:e (.) real differences
```

This excerpt begins after Obama has argued that "... we are tired... we are hungry... and we are ready to believe again" which prompts the audience to erupt in a roar, followed by the chant "we want change" (the tail end of which begins this excerpt at lines 01-02). Obama then cautions the audience that their objective (part of which had been outlined in previous talk not shown in this excerpt) will be a struggle (at lines 03/06-10). This presents a

puzzle[111] ('how so?') which projects that the talk that follows it will be a list of reasons specifying why this "will not come easy" (lines 09–10). Some of the audience align with this, by confirming it with "that's right" (at lines 11–13). He then proceeds to break down the elements of the challenge, indicating that there will be several components ("partly because" at lines 15–16). The first hurdle is the group of fellow candidates – whom he praises (at lines 16–20). This compliment is an applaudable message, yet in this context it does not yet project completion. However, it is a sentiment that the audience does indeed support, prompting several to cheer and applaud (that falls short of the sort of eruptive applause we see at the completion of such complex units). He continues with another caution ("and as contentious… we have to remember…" at lines 24–29), which does triple duty. First, by using 'contention' as the first part of a contrast it projects that some form of 'agreement' will follow (i.e., what we share); second, it is composed as a warning ("we have to remember that") that projects the object of the lesson (i.e., *remember 'what'*?); and third, it ties back to his earlier formulation (in line 7, "we've been reminded…"). At this point, the in-progress unit is not yet possibly complete, however, because it has not tied back (or provided a solution) to the puzzle Obama posed regarding the challenges of pursuing "the kind of change we seek." The next unit he produces, however, does make this connection. In adding another item to remember ("and [we have to remember] that we…" at line 31), he also returns to the initial unit (the puzzle) with "… all of us share an abiding desire" which he uses to formulate one of the central goals of the campaign: "to end the disastrous policies of the current administration." With each of these in-progress rhetorical forms brought to a possible completion in the same unit, the audience responds right on cue with a [prototypical] round of cheers and applause (i.e., upon completion, a quick burst of applause that reaches peak volume shortly after onset and lasts 7-8 seconds, with a gradual decline in volume as it comes to a close).

---

[111] As we shall see in Chapter 5, Obama uses the puzzle format he introduces here to organize a long stretch of this speech, resulting in an elaborate, very complex combination of units. We will examine the rest of this very elaborate and complex unit later in the chapter, and again in Chapter 5 when we discuss charismatic speakers.

However, peeling back these layers of the entire combination shows that the smaller units Obama uses to compose it are not a *perfectly* connected[112]. That is, the start to this complex unit does not lend itself to a perfectly constructed "set" of units:

> "… But if there's anything, though, that we've been reminded of since Iowa, it's that the kind of change we seek will not come easy. Now, partly because we have fine candidates in this field, fierce competitors who are worthy of our respect and our admiration – and as contentious as this campaign may get we have to remember that this is a contest for the Democratic nomination and that all of us share an abiding desire to end the disastrous policies of the current administration."

But the key thing is, here, that it does not have to be – because the audience is able to differentiate the subsidiary points from the main one.[113] They respond with properly timed and calibrated responses. It is important to emphasize the audience's responses to the speaker's initial units nevertheless have a similar shape and appearance to the larger bursts of applause [characteristic of independent decision making]. Rather than the 'slow development' characteristic of responses that are the product of mutually monitoring, these responses are timed to the possible completion of units (even if they are shorter and less intense than responses to the "main" unit). Despite sometimes coming from a relatively smaller portion of the audience, they begin with a burst that is tied to the completion of the in-progress unit (leaving no gap). These are simply a shrunk down versions: toned down [in terms of volume and intensity], with comparatively shorter durations. As a consequence, the audience members responding to the internal units of a larger combination seem to gather additional participants at each next unit, before culminating in the final one:

- The first sub-unit ("if there's anything…" lines 03/06–10) gets 2.4 seconds of very mild screams of 'that's right' and [possible] 'yeahs' that are not drawn out (there are no "yeah:::::" screams);

[112] We will discuss what this would entail when we discuss charismatic speakers later in this chapter and Chapter 5.
[113] Which could mean that perhaps there is a bit more to this unit – which we will discuss in further detail later in this section and in Chapter 5.

- The second ("…fine candidates…" at lines 15–20) gets 5.4 seconds of cheers/applause that bears a striking resemblance (structurally) to a typical response but is slightly toned down in volume);
- The first portion of the third sub-unit ("…Democratic nomination" at lines 27–29) gets a very, very condensed cheers (that die down within one second of onset) before the final portion ultimately gets the typical response: 7.8 seconds of cheers/applause that bursts, plateaus, and then declines gradually (at line 36).

As this section demonstrates, the participation framework for campaign rallies – and the turn-taking system that underpins it – has several features that produce a tightly knit fabric of carefully coordinated behaviors with respect to timing as well as type of turn (both the initiating unit as well as the corresponding response). From what we know of the participation framework, and the types of turns allowable based on the participant's local identity, we should get a series of exchanges that reflect the basics of the system:

- A two party exchange where the speaker gets speaking turns (typically multiple TCUs), while the audiences are restricted to responsive/collective turns, which have a typical shape or trajectory;
- Transitions from one party to the other rely on both parties using/recognizing production features associated with the units used by the other (which, in both cases, entails something more than recognizing TCU completions) to ensure tight transitions. As a result, speaker → audience transitions have little to no overlap (with audience's sometimes beginning to respond in anticipation of a speaker's projectable completion); by contrast, audience → speaker transitions regularly involve some overlap, as the speaker begins talking before the audience's responsive applause have died down (or comes to a close).
    - In addition, when speaker's produce complex turns composed of multiple rhetorical forms, audience's can respond to the possible completion units that are internal to those combinations (but not the speaker's main message); when this happens, audience's responses are calibrated to reflect their production in the middle of an in-

progress unit (i.e., with slightly lowered volume and intensity, and a shorter duration).

- Finally, when the overlap does occur, both parties (for the most part) orient to this by attempting to resolve it (e.g., when one starts, the other drops out).

When put together, the structure of the exchange might look something like (as demonstrated in the excerpts) this:

```
SPKR: speaking turn
      potentially multiple TCUs
        (with projectable completion)
AUD:  responsive next turn with predi[ctable trajectory]
SPKR:                                [starts in partial] overlap=
      =producing a speaking turn
      potentially multiple TCUs
        (with projectable completion)
AUD:  responsive next turn with predi[ctable trajectory]
SPKR:                                [starts in partial] overlap=
      =producing a speaking turn
      potentially multiple TCUs
        (with projectable [completion)
AUD:                      [(potentially slightly early)=
      =responsive next turn with predi[ctable trajectory]
```

In this representation, the audience produces collective responses [only] in places that are designed for appreciation by speakers. Conversely, when audiences respond at those moments, speakers will refrain from starting a next unit until the audience's response has [nearly] completed a typical trajectory. Additionally, the audience can calibrate their appreciation of the speaker's points – with completions of smaller units attracting smaller responses and larger units attracting larger responses (see Heritage and Raymond, 2012 for a similar observation regarding questions and answers). This is the state of affairs speakers in campaign rallies are aiming for.

Given what is at stake – both within the encounter as well as the impression that others observing it (e.g., on television or the Internet) might develop – it is no surprise that

speakers go to such lengths in an attempting to coordinate the audience's response at specific moments. As various authors note, speakers may use technological aids, read prepared remarks that including rhetorical devices, and so on (c.f., Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Clayman, 1993). However, with such restrictions placed on participants, and so much at stake, it should also be of no surprise that all sorts of things can go wrong. Analyzing such occasions can help us to better understand these occasions. So when do the parties depart from these constraints? What happens when they do?

In the next two sections, we explore some contingencies associated with speeches in campaign rallies and outright violations of some of the normative expectations that underpin them.

3.2 CONTINGENCIES RELATING TO ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING THE PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK FOR THE OCCASION

The contingencies that speakers encounter in campaign rallies relate to establishing and maintaining the participation framework that underpins these occasions, and the various ways that participants (typically audience members) depart from the basic turn-taking framework relevant for campaign rallies. These contingencies take two basic forms. First, the participants must establish the basic participation framework – and the turn-taking system that underpins it – in the opening of the speech. Second, once the turn taking system has been established, speakers may encounter trouble when audience members yell or cheer in the course of a speaker's turn (before transition to the audience is relevant), or when they disrupt or heckle the speaker.

3.2.1 COOPERATION AND COORDINATION: ESTABLISHING THE FRAMEWORK

The 'openings' of different types of institutional occasions, and the forms of trouble they can engender, can reveal something about distinct sets of issues those institutions must deal with. Understanding these issues is a step toward understanding the type of work each is attempting to do or accomplish. For rally speeches, the 'opening' is one of – if not the –

the most common sites of trouble for speakers. This is so for several reasons. Structurally speaking, openings are ripe for problems because audience members may not yet be focused on the speaker. As a result, establishing the relevant participation framework can be a challenge. In other cases, the 'welcoming' cheers the audience gives to a speaker may complicate a speaker's effort to get a speech under way. In either case, getting the occasion going can be difficult. And several things that have a home at the beginning of speeches (e.g., thanks, appreciation, and so on – i.e., things that must be done "preliminarily") are precisely the types of things these excited audience members respond to. Put them together and we have a recipe for difficult starts.

As mentioned, in beginning to speak 'as a speaker' one must first secure the cooperation of the audience. This is something that muse be achieved. This entails getting the audience to organize itself *as an audience* (rather than a crowd of individuals), not just responding to political messages[114] but responding at just those moments when it is appropriate for them to do so. As noted earlier, the biggest and most consequential failure a speaker can face is the possibility that the audience will not respond appropriately at the moment prepared for it (e.g., whether the response entails sporadic or lackluster applause at the transition relevance place[115] – or worse, complete silence). The start of the speech is particularly vulnerable as individual audience members may be focused on other things. So then, how does a speaker manage to corral a wide variety of different individuals and smaller groups – each of which may be preoccupied with their own conversations and engagements – into a collective group that behaves as a single party – that is, as an audience?

In some cases, campaign rally organizers can solve this problem for candidates by giving it to another person – as when someone introduces the candidate. An introduction

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[114] Though, as previously mentioned, the mere fact that they are in attendance at a campaign rally for the candidate/ speaker indicates a willingness to do so, the issue here is how does this framework get established.

[115] Which will be addressed in the very next section of this Chapter when we discuss "turn-design-based contingencies."

can come from an announcer over the PA-system, which can help get things started by calling for the audience members' attention – alerting each of them to direct their attention toward the stage. Along with that comes an implicit call for them to prepare to listen and to be 'an audience.' For example, in the following case the announcer both alerts them that McCain is about to come out (which calls for and directs their attention) and explicitly requests their applause (i.e., collective behavior) for the candidate ("Ladies and gentlemen. Please welcome the next President…" lines 02-03). They respond in unison (at lines 04-05/08).

[ex. 3.04] "Announcer Intro (McCain)" ~ Announcer/McCain
Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua, NH (Primary Rally)

```
01    (M):     ((music begins – Theme from "Rocky"; plays
                 until line 45))
02    Ann:     Ladies and gentlemen. Please welcome the
03             next President, of the Unit[ed States.]
04    Aud:  ->                            [woo:::::::]=
05    AUD:  -> =[WOO:::::::::[ROAR----------------------]
06    Ann:   *  [Senator Joh[n McCain. and Mrs. Cindy ]=
07           * =[McCain.]
08    AUD:  -> =[ROAR---]--(( 2.0 ))--{--------------------
09                                    {((Senator and Mrs.
                                         McCain appear from
                                         backstage))
10    AUD:     ROAR--(( 10.0 ))--[--------------------]
11    Aud:                        [John. Muh. Cain. (.)]
     ((several lines omitted: 27 seconds of music, cheers,
       and chants of "John. Muh. Cain. – 21 times in all);
       all while the McCains walk along the stage and
       waive to the crowd))
```

```
45    (M):     ={music--{---[{MUSIC-----[------[°music°-]
                |-   4.0   -||-  1.0  -|
46    CMc:      {walks off-stage
47    McC:       |-2.0-|{reaches podium,
48                      |    {touches/adjusts microphone
49    McC:              |    |          [Thank [you:. ]
50    AUD:     ={CHEERS-{----{ROAR------[------[CHEERS]=
51    AUD:     =[John. Muh. Cain!

52    AUD:     =CHEERS-[-------------[cheers-[°cheers°
53    McC:      (1.0)  [Thank you::. [(1.5)  [Thank you:.
```

Notice how the audience initially responds: when the announcer finishes ("…Please welcome…"), they immediately cheer *as an audience* – with some even cheering just a bit early (at arrowed lines 04-05) at the projected completion of his name (starred lines 05-06; see Atkinson, 1984a; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986). This – along with the music (which is playing for a large duration of the excerpt – see note at line 01) – focuses audience members' attention toward the stage, toward the speaker's entrance, and begins to organize these separate audience members as members of a single collectivity – as an audience. In addition, notice that this prepares them to become responsive to the speaker as well. When he approaches the podium and adjusts the microphone (thus, preparing to speak, at lines 47-48), the 'cheers' collectively flare-up into a roar and the chanting stops (lines 50-51). Rather than a continuation [of lines 08/10], this 'ROAR' is in response to his arrival at the podium (emerging from "CHEERS" on line 50). Additionally, when he begins to speak (at lines 49 and 53), the audience's response level lowers – from "ROAR" to "CHEERS" (at line 50), and then down to 'cheers' and eventually '°cheers°' (at line 52).

Campaigns can also exploit these introductions/entrances. Besides the thematic implications of any song used (e.g., "The Theme to Rocky" for McCain's entrance here),

music can be utilized to aid in creating an ostentatious entrance, which can influence not only the audience's "perception" but also the *reception* they give. For example, here the music begins and it marks the speaker's entrance; and it continues to play as he walks the stage waives to the audience. The music then gets louder as he approaches the podium, culminating (the highest register, loudest sound, all instruments) just as he touches/adjusts the microphone, and it comes to a close as he begins to speak (the volume literally drops off at lines 45/49-50). It is no coincidence that he approaches the podium (at lines 47-48) just as the music begins to escalate (at line 45) and just as the audience's 'CHEERS' re-ignite into a ROAR (at line 50) – creating a much more exciting "welcome."

But as we will see, sometimes getting their attention is not enough. Another, slightly more elaborate method using introductions entails having another speaker go first. This person serves as a primer, to warm up the crowd before introducing the speaker (like an 'opening act'). She works out some of the initial 'kinks' of turn taking that speakers can encounter at the start of a speech[116], getting the audience members oriented towards and prepared for behaving as an audience. Once this has been accomplished, she then hands things over to the main speaker, with the crowd now (ideally) used to focusing their attention towards the stage, behaving as a collective audience – and most importantly prepared to respond to political messages. Take as an example the following speech that Sarah Palin gives while introducing John McCain at a rally in Colorado Springs, CO. When she initially begins, she encounters a raucous crowd. Although there are moments when some of the audience is responsive to her as 'a speaker' (fluctuations in cheers that indicate they are responding to her speech – at starred lines 04, 06, 10, 14, and 18), it takes almost an entire minute before the audience calms down and she produces a portion of her speech in the clear (at double-arrowed lines 28-31).

[116] Which we will see in the very next section.

[ex. 3.05] “Palin Intro McCain OPEN” (simplified) ~ S. Palin

Sept 6, 2008 – Colorado Springs, CO (Rally)

```
01    Pal:     [This is absolutely spectacular. Thank]=
02    AUD:     [cheers-------------------------------]=
03    Pal:     =[you. [It is so great [to be here in]=
04    AUD:   * =[-----[CHEERS---------[cheers-------]=
05    Pal:     =[beauti[ful Colorado Springs. [Thank you]=
06    AUD: *-> =[------[murmurs---------------[ROAR-----]=
07    Pal:     =[(from both of us/for having us).] (1.8)
08    AUD:     =[ROAR----------------------------]--------=
09    Pal:     =[Thank you.] (3.4) [And those mo[untains]=
10    AUD: *-> =[ROAR------]-----ch[eers--------[murmurs]=
11    Pal:     =[behind us, they- they so remind me of]=
12    Aud:  -> =[murmurs-------------------------------]=
13    Pal:     =[home. An’ [(0.2) you all su[re know how]=
14    AUD:   * =[----------[cheering--------[CHEERING---]=
15    Pal:     =[to make us feel at home. Thank you.]=
16    AUD:     =[CHEERS----------------------------]=
17    Pal:     =[(2.3) I am so ho[nored to get to be with]=
18    AUD:   * =[CHEERS----------[cheers-----------------]=
19    Pal:     =[you, (.) [today, (0.6) in the company]=
20    AUD:  -> =[cheers---[murmurs--------------------]=
21    Pal:     =[.hh >of John and Cindy McCain the next<]=
22    AUD:  -> =[murmurs---------------------------------]=
23    Pal:     =[>President a[nd First Lady of the<]=
24    AUD:  -> =[murmurs-----[cheers--------------]=
25    Pal:     =[>United Sta[tes of Ame[rica.< ((claps))]=
26    AUD:   * =[-----------[CHEERS----[ROAR---(( 3.8 ))]=
27             =[ROAR--CHEERS--ch[eers/woos--murmurs----]
```

```
28    Pal: ->>  |-    (6.7)    -|[Colorado it's gonna be]
29          ->> a hard fought battle here. It's gonna be a
30          ->> really tough battle here in Colorado. But
31         *->> we will win. [And we're counting on you]=
32    AUD:                    [cheers/woos--------CHEERS]=
33              =[to help.|- 3.0 -|- 1.4 -|[What we'll do]=
34    AUD:      =[ROAR------------[cheers--[claps--------]=
35    Pal:      =[we're gonna take our case for] reform
36    AUD:      =[claps------------------------]
```

Just glancing at the transcript, one notices that there is not a single moment where the audience stops cheering or chattering for the entire first minute of Palin's speech; every one of the speaker's utterances are produced in competition with audience members conduct until her turn (at line 28). Though there are moments when the audience responds appropriately (where cheers burst into louder cheers or roars at or near possible completion points – like at the starred lines 04, 06, 10, 14, and 18), a good portion of the audience does not settle down when the speaker begins each of her next respective units. Following those ['responsive'] cheers/roars, a portion of the audience's chattering is hearable even though Palin has started talking again (transcribed as murmurs, at the arrowed lines 6, 10, 12, 20, 22, and 24). But after she completes the first political message (the prediction that McCain will be "the next President" at lines 17-25), the murmurs/cheers erupt into CHEERS/ROAR at the projectable completion of that unit (at line 26). Having organized such a response, Palin can now attempt to further engage the turn-taking system: as the audience's response trails off in the typical manner, Palin delivers the very next unit in the clear (double arrowed lines 28-31) – a pattern which continues into her next turn (lines 35/36) and for the rest of her speech. By the end of it, roughly another 10:00, she continues to

produce her turns in the clear with the audience responding appropriately as she passes the speakership over, introducing McCain:

[ex. 3.06] "Palin Intros McCain CLOSE" (simplified) ~ S. Palin
Sept 6, 2008 – Colorado Springs, CO (Rally)

```
01    Pal:     As the story goes, when McCain shuffled back
02             from torturous interrogations, he would turn
03             toward Mo's door, and he'd flash a grin, and
04             his thumbs up, as if to say, "we're gonna
05             pull through this." And my fellow Americans,
06             that is the kind=uh man American needs,
07             [to see us through [the next four years.]
08    AUD:     [cheers------------[CHEERS--------------]--=
09             =CHEERS-----[cheers---------------------]
10    Pal:      |- (9.9) -|[He is the only great man in]
11             this race. The only man ready to serve as
12             our 44th President. And I am honored to get
13             to introduce to y[ou the next President]=
14    AUD:                      [cheers/woos----------]=
15    Pal:     =[of the United States, [John S. McCain.]
16    AUD:     =[cheer/woos------------[CHEERS---------]=
17             =ROAR-----------------------------------
```

We can notice how her turns here look markedly different from those at the beginning of her speech (which were produced almost completely in overlap). The turns towards the end of her speech resemble the "clean" exchanges described in ex. 3.03, in which overlap is minimal and orderly. For example, when the audience responds at a possible transition relevant place ("this is the kind of man America needs" at lines 06-07) and the speaker adds an increment to her turn ("to see us through the next four years" at lines 07-08) this

produces some mild overlap. But we can also notice that the speaker begins a next unit just as the cheers begin to die down (at lines 09-10), and she then (again) begins to speak in the clear. And finally, the audience responds slightly early at the projectable completion of her introduction of the candidate's name ("…introduce to you…" at lines 13-14).

But not all audiences respond immediately once the speaker approaches the podium and begins talking (as with McCain in ex. 3.04 at lines 47-53); and not all speakers can simply continue speaking until they get a turn in the clear (as Palin does in ex. 3.05). Sometimes an audience's 'welcome' can be unrelenting. So how can a speaker deal these "welcoming" cheers? What sorts of tactics can be used so that she can begin producing her speech (i.e., get that first "first")? The opening of the speech is a particularly delicate moment. These welcoming cheers are *for the speaker*. Any overt sanctions of that cheering can be viewed as uncharitable insofar as the event's purpose is to support candidate (the speaker) – and that is just what the audience is doing. Additionally, precisely because the audience is screaming, they may not even hear the speaker. In these situations, a combination of tactics (non-verbal cues with verbal signals) can be used to convey that the speaker is getting under way.

Take for example the following excerpt from Hillary Clinton's speech at her Super Tuesday [Primary] rally. After Clinton takes the stage, she signals that she is ready to begin, but the crowd continues cheering noisily. She makes several attempts to get the boisterous crowd to settle down – including physical displays of 'readiness' (at starred lines 03, 10, 21, 34, 43, 48, 55, and 79), sequential thirds (at arrowed lines 04, 09, 13, 24, 29, 46), non-verbal gestures that signal they should stop (at double-arrowed lines 05/06, 14, 23, 28/30, and 52), using repetitive phrasing (at lines 36/49 and 53/57), and at times even upgrading those various methods (marked with a "+" preceding their respective symbols; e.g., at lines 56/61 marked by a "+>>" and line 68 marked by a "+->"). Each of these is to no avail as the audience simply responds with more of the same. This continues for several minutes and well into the broadcast before she eventually begins her speech (at lines 81/83).

[ex. 3.07] “People across America (start)” ~ H. Clinton

Feb 05, 2008 – New York, NY (Super Tuesday)

* *“Home Ready Position” (“HRP”) = standing with hands on the podium, facing forward (or, “eyes down” = looking down at prepared remarks).*

```
01    AUD:     ROAR/CHANTS of “HIL.=LA.=RY! (.)”---{----}]=
02    (B):     ‘En here sh{[e is, (0.6)]{Senator Hi{llary]=
03    HCl:   *            {Home-Ready-Position
04           ->             [THANK YOU. ]           {
05           ->>                          {extends arms out
                                          palms down, elbows
06           ->>                          bent; then {pumps/
                                          pushes ‘out’ once,
                                          motioning “stop”}

07    AUD:     =[ROAR/CHANTS------{-{--------------------}=
08    (B):     =[Cl[inton tonight.
09    HCl: +->     [THANK  YOU SO {MU{CH. (0.2)
10             *                  {“HRP”
11                                   {raises both hands,
                                      touches microphones}=

12    AUD:     =[ROAR/CHANTS-----------{--{----------}=
13             -> =[THANK YOU. {(0.4) .hhh{h={HHHHH!
14           ->>              {extends arms out
15                                  {grins
16    HCl:                             {drops arms}=

17    AUD:     =[{ROAR/CHANTS-------------------------}=
```

18 HCl: [{(5.7) ((*during which she:*))

19 {*tilts head, smiles/chuckles, points*

into the AUD mouths something and

gives a 'thumb up' to someone in AUD}=

20 AUD: ={RO[AR/CHAN{TS------[-------{---]=

21 HCl: * ={*"HRP"*

22 [.hhh

23 ->> (.){*extends* [*arms*

24 -> |(0.2)| [THANK Y{OU.]

25 {*arms down*

26 AUD: =ROAR/{CHAN{TS[{-------------------------=

27 HCl: -> (0.3){*nod*

28 ->> (0.3){*extends arms*

29 +-> [{THANK YOU.=TH{ANK}{YOU::.=

30 ->> { *pumps hands 3x* }

31 {*gaze down*

32 {*arms down*

33 AUD: =R{OAR/CHAN{TS---[-----------------]=

34 * {*"HRP" — eyes down*

35 |-(1.0)-|{*eyes forward*

36 |(0.3)|[.mhhhh=You kn{ow.]

37 {*looks down*

38 AUD: ={RO{AR/CHANTS-------------}=

39 HCl: {(2.0)

40 {*grins; looks up into AUD;*

points into the AUD; and

mouths something (unclear)}

```
41  AUD:      ={ROAR/CHA{NTS-{--]RO[AR-----------------]=
42  HCl:      ={(1.0)
43            *  {HRP — looking straight, chin lifted
44          +->  |-(1.0)-|{BIG nod]
45          +->  |-   (2.0)  -|{5 quick nods
46           ->  |-      (3.7)     -|[.T! (1.0) Thank you.]

47  AUD:      ={ROAR------[--------------------]=
48            *  {HRP — looking down
49  HCl:         |-(2.1)-| [.mt! You know. (0.2)]=

50  AUD:      =[ROAR------{-------------]=
51  Aud:       [°Ma:-dam! {Pre-[si-dent!°]=
52  HCl: ->>              {extends arms out
53                             [Tonight.]=

54  AUD:      ={CHEERS{/chan[{ts-------------------------]=
55  HCl:    * ={HRP — hands to side of podium
56          +>>   (0.3) {turns to right/looks at AUD behind
                        her, extends right hand/out at them
57                           [{To- (0.2) {TonNIGHT,- (0.4)]
58  HCl:                      {pumps hand
59          +>>                            {turns only
                                            partially back
                                            towards center

60  AUD:      ={cheers/[chant{s----{-----{CHEERS-]=
61  HCl: +>> ={turns towards her left/looks at
                AUD behind her; with left
                arm/hand extended out
62  (H):              [(hih {huh huh huh)| (2.1)|=
```

63 +-> {*nod* {*nod* {*nod=nod=nod*

64 +>> {*pumps hand 3x* =

65 {*turns gaze then*

body toward

center/podium

66 AUD: ={CHEERS--------------------]=

67 HCl: ={*ext*[*ends arms out*

68 +-> [OH:{KA:Y:. Thank y{ou.]=

69 {*pumps arms*

70 {*glances down/up at remarks/podium*

71 {*hands to podium*

72 AUD: ={CHEERS---[ROAR-------------------}=

|- (7.1) -|

74 HCl: {*looks down at the podium/remarks;*

75 *looks up/into the AUD, smiles,*

points, gives a thumb up, points}

76 AUD: ={ROAR{--{CH{EE{RS-[cheers--------------]=

77 HCl: {*looks down at podium/remarks*

78 {*arms to the podium*

78 * {*HRP*

79 +-> {*big nod*

80 {*extends arms out*

81 [Thank you very much,]=

82 AUD: =[cheers-----chatter------]

83 HCl: =[you know, (0.8) Tonight,] we ar:e hearing,

84 the voices, of people all across America.

In this speech opening, she deploys several different methods – both verbal and visual, as well as several upgrades to each of these – in her repeated attempts to get the audience to quiet down simply so that she can begin her speech:

- *Physical displays of 'readiness'* – or the "home-ready-position" (standing tall at the podium, facing the cameras/AUD, staring at them or at her prepared remarks, with hands either on the podium, on her prepared remarks, or on the microphone). After reaching the stage and engaging in some miscellaneous activity (something other than delivering the speech; e.g., waiving to or otherwise communicating with someone in the audience, engaged in attempts to quell the audience's roar), the speaker regularly returns to a 'home-ready-position' (at starred lines 03, 10, 21, 34, 43, 48, 55, and 79). This literally *shows* the audience that she is ready to begin – and, thus, their 'welcoming cheers' should cease;
- *Sequence Closing Thirds* (Schegloff, 2007). Sequence closing thirds (produced in the opening and closing parts of a speech) are among the only exceptions to the rule that " speakers initiates FPPs" that do not 'break' from the participation framework. But these are an exception because they are deployed in a particular place and designed for a particular purpose – and beginnings are one such regular place. The initial 'thank you' appreciates the audience's response to her introduction (a FPP), and are thus produced as potential completions to that opening sequence. The subsequent ones she produces, however, can do additional work (see arrowed lines 04, 13, 24, and 46, and the subsequent upgraded versions at arrowed lines 09 and 29). As with the first "thank you", these subsequent ones (and additionally the nod at arrowed 27 and the respective upgraded versions at "+->" lines 44/45, 63, and 79) are being used as "sequence closing thirds" to more insistently close the sequence, with their repeated production attempting to shut down the (now) unwanted action.
- *Hand gestures* that indicate that the 'roar' should stop. In conjunction with the HRP stances and the sequence closing thirds, the speaker also attempts to smother the

raucous cheers by extending her arms out (palms facing out) then 'pumping them', producing a gesture designed to quiet the roar so as to quiet the audience (at double-arrowed lines 05/06, 14, 23, 28/30, and 52; see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Using hand gestures to signal that the audience should stop:
After taking the stage at her Super Tuesday rally, Sen. Hillary Clinton extends her arms out to signal to the audience that they should not stop as she is about to begin her remarks

- *Repeating turn-initial components.* As Schegloff (1987) notes, recycled turn beginnings[117] can be used to indicate to retrieve a unit produced in overlap; by producing multiples of these, a speaker can show that her persistent effort to begin a unit (in this case, to begin the first unit of speech). When, despite several attempts by the speaker, the audience persists in cheering with no signs of quieting down, the speaker repeats small segments of the speech's beginning. In contrast with the sequential thirds (which look 'back' upon a prior sequence), these turn initial components attempt to move things forward by producing beginnings ("you know…" at lines 36 and 49; "tonight" at lines 53 and 57 – and notice that when she

[117] We will deal with 'recycled turn beginnings' as a method of dealing with overlap competition more fully in the next section.

does get the turn in the clear, she starts her speech with "You know, tonight…" at line 83). These attempts "to start" signal that the audience should quiet down as she is preparing to begin. In a striking contrast with Palin's speech produced in overlap with sustained cheering (in ex. 3.02), here Hillary is not actually beginning the speech, but using beginnings ("you know") as a device to get the audience's to begin coordinating its conduct with her, attempting to get them to quiet down so that she may begin her speech (in the clear).

When the audience's chants stop (at line 41) and then the roars begin to decrease to CHEERS (at lines 50-54), a small portion of the audience – seated behind the speaker – begin a new chant (at line 51). The speaker then upgrades her attempts:

- *Upgrades her 'stop' signals*. Clinton more assertively addresses these directives to a particular segment of the audience (at lines 56 and 61, marked by a "+>>"): partially turning her shoulders toward them (and more importantly – and more noticeably – away from the cameras/main audience), extending one arm out and motioning directly to them (rather than the audience as a whole, as she did before by extending both arms out to her sides while still facing forward/the cameras/the main audience). See figure 3.2 below. She then elaborates this gesture with upgraded hand pumps and additional nods (at "+->" and "+>>" lines 63 and 64).

Figure 3.2 Upgrading the use of hand gestures in attempting to stop the audience:
In an additional attempt to quell the audience's roar at her Super Tuesday rally, Sen. Hillary Clinton redirects and elaborates her gestures by turning to the audience seated behind her, motioning for them to stop.

- *Upgrades her sequence closing third.* The speaker then turns back toward center/cameras/AUD, and says "okay" (which she actually delivers as "OH:KA:Y:." marked with a "+->" at line 68). The prosody she uses to produce this conveys mild exasperation.

In contrast with what we know of about [minimal] overlap for this type of occasion, this exchange shares some features of (extended) overlap *competition*: each side is attempting to sustain the progressivity of their action despite evidence that the other party is attempting to do the same; and each persists in the face of the other's persistence – neither willing to relinquish the turn (see Jefferson, 2004). It takes a full 0:45 of this broadcast[118] before Clinton gets to officially start her speech.

[118] This excerpts begins at the start of the broadcast. By this time, the audience is already in full swing so this 0:45 does not include however long the 'roar' had been going prior to it. Given that we know she has already taken center stage and the audience is already chanting (which takes time to develop), we can assume it had already been in progress for some time.

But the most common problem during the beginnings of speeches is audience members' propensity to cheer wherever and whenever possible (as opposed to when it is 'relevant'). After the initial welcome most of the group will cooperate and quiet down. A few audience members or smaller groups (the "Aud"), however, will sometimes continue to scream *after* the speaker has begun. Given the purpose of the occasion, the start of the speech is the most likely place for these types of issues to occur. Compared with the main purpose of the speech (e.g., mobilizing [political] support, establishing rapport with constituents, audiences demonstrating their agreement or support for the candidate or her political ideas), expressions of appreciation or gratitude, congratulating others, references to specific groups or regions, etc., are of secondary importance for the occasion. As a result, they are typically presented and produced as a preliminary to the main event – as something to be done before the main agenda[119]. Since the audience members have not yet formed themselves up to be an audience (by this point in the proceedings), such beginnings can be quite chaotic.

These intervening screams are often produced in response to non-political statements and targeted references (e.g., regional references, or references to group affiliations, etc.), or statements that are related to the goals of the occasion. The most disruptive types of such responses occur when audience members respond at the possible completion of units that are not designed as transitionally relevant[120]. These intervening cheers create obstacles in the speaker's ability to get the normative extended turn (i.e., getting the framework of the occasion, and therefore the speech, fully under way, like we

[119] In the dozens of speeches viewed for this project, only one speech (discussed in Ch4) has the 'thank yous' at the end of the speech; others do the thanks and appreciation as part of its beginning (though some may say "thank you," that is not the same as "I would like to thank the organizers, my family, etc."). In fact, some speakers explicitly mark the activity *as* preliminary: "Before we begin, I would like to thank…".

[120] This is the main distinguishing factor between these types of responses and the calibrated responses. Calibrated responses are prepared for, whereas these responses are disruptive. As a result, they are treated as a problem while calibrated responses are not.

saw Romney do in [ex. 3.01]). Such cheers can become obstacles that – in most cases[121] – the speaker must contend with while attempting to establish and maintain order. Take for example Sen. John McCain's rally speech following the Florida Primary [Victory]. The audience's welcoming cheers settle and McCain begins with an expression of appreciation and gratitude, one [entire message] that happens to have multiple components ("Thank you Florida…" at lines 04-21; "…always loved this beautiful state" at lines 23-35; "…indebted to Florida…" at lines 38-53). Rather than waiting for the TRP (at line 21) and applaudable message (which ultimately comes at line 57), a few audience members respond to the several places where it is not transition relevant (at starred lines 08/09/12, 25/26/30/31/32, and 36/37/47) – making it difficult for the speaker to continue to produce the entire unit/s in the clear. McCain attempts to deal with these in various ways. When the audience responds before the first TCU is complete, it is met with a non-verbal demonstration that the in-progress unit has more to come before it is complete (starred audience member lines 08/09, 12/13 are met with JMc's 10, 11, 14). Then, when a few audience members respond prematurely to each of the 'non-political' components of the subsequent compound unit, he first continues in overlap before it can develop (starred lines 25-26 met with arrowed line 27 and starred lines 30-32 met with arrowed line 32). When it happens again but the response is more substantial, he momentarily holds off before reclaiming the turn by recycling the turn beginning (starred lines 47-48 met with arrowed line 49) and continuing with the unit.

[121] "In most cases" because this is only problematic if the speaker displays that this is problematic and then makes attempts to compete for the turn (c.f., Schegloff, 2000 and Jefferson, 2004 (1975)). It seems this problem is so ubiquitous that some speakers simply work around them rather than displaying that they are problematic. For one such example, see Appendix D (where Hillary lets the audience show their appreciation for her)

[ex. 3.08] “Trouble getting going” ~ J. McCain

Jan 29, 2008 – Miami, FL (Rally, Primary)

```
01    AUD:     [CHEERS/APPLAUSE-------------------------]=
02    McC:     [Thank you::, (1.2) thank you, thank you:.]=
03    AUD:     =[claps]
04    McC: (a) =[(0.9)] Thank you Florida Republicans for
05             bringing a former Florida resident, (.)
06             across the finish line first:st, (.)
07             .h[hh={  (0.3)   [i{(h)i{n-
08    A/m:    *   [woo{:{hoo!=   |      |
09    A/m:    *   [cla{p{ping    |      |
10    McC:   ->       {raises eyebrows  |
11    McC:   ->         {tilts he[ad    |
12    A/m:    *              =woo[:{:!  |
13    AUD:    *                  [c{lapP{ING--[--[--{------=
14    McC:   ->                   {begins to lift arm;
      ->                               {index finger “up”
                                        – as in “wait”
15    Aud:                                 [wo[o::::!
16    A/m:                                    [ye{ah!
17    McC:                                       {smiles
18    AUD:     =applause/cheers--------clapping--------
19    McC:     in a- eh- (.) in a as I have been repeatedly
20             reminded lately, .h an all Republican,
21             primary:. [((laughs))
22    AUD:               [APPLAUSE/CHEERS--------------
23    McC:     My friends, I have always loved this
24             beautiful state,
25    A/m:    * (   [    )
```

A/m: * [and we [love you:::::::::.]

McC: -> |- (0.9) -| [from the time I was] a young naval aviator learning my trade in Pensacola,

A/m: * ([ )=

A/m: * [([[ )

A/m: * [( )

McC: -> |- (0.8) -|=to the [time I commanded the largest air squadron .hh in the United States Navy at Cecil Field.

A/m: * YEAH.=

A/m: * =yah-hoo:[::

McC: -> |- (1.0) -| [M[ost- (.) ((*smiles*)) (1.2)

Aud: * [Whoops/clapping----[-------

A/m: [( )

A/m: [claps----------]

McC: -> [Most of all. (0.3)] Most of all:, (0.5) I've always been indebted to Florida friends and neighbors in Orange Park. (0.2) .h for taking such good care of my family, .h [while I was away, (1.3) [on a- [((smiles)]

Aud: * [claps----------applause-[cheers[---------]=

* =CHEERS/AP[PLAUSE--cheers/[applause---]=

McC: -> |-(2.0)-|[While-, (1.4) [While I was]=

AUD: =[cheers/applause----------]=

McC: [away (.) ((*clears throat*)) on a longer]

AUD: =[cheers/applause----------]=[claps--]

McC: than expected tour of duty. (1.1) [FLOrida] has always been a special pla:ce to me, .m

55 and it is all mor- all the more so tonight.

56 .mth Our victory. (0.4) might not have

57 reached landslide prop(h)ortions, but it is

58 <s:wee:t, nonetheless.> ((laughs))

59 AUD: cheERS----------cheers-------mac is back (.)

McCain opens with an expression of appreciation and gratitude (a customary feature of speech openings). It is a unit with several components that lead toward a single point[122] (the TRP coming after the unit at lines 56-58) – thanking them for the victory:

- Thank you/You brought me in first (lines 04-21)…
- I've always loved this beautiful state (lines 25-35):
    - From the time… ⎤
    - To the time… (lines 38-53)
    - Most of all [because] indebted to Florida… ⎦
        - Always been special, more so tonight

          (lines 53-56) – because *victory*!

Although packaged as a combination so that the references to his victory 'bookend' his appreciation for Florida/ians, each segment gets intervening responses. Additionally, notice that his attempts to deal with those cheers reflect what he is struggling with. When the audience responds prior to the TRP, these premature starts are treated different from the cheers that the audience produces at the completion of units (that are not transition relevant). In addition, the premature response that comes from "A/ms" gets treated slightly different than the one/s from "the Aud":

[122] Not a series of smaller applaudables that receive calibrated responses; this is a single unit with several components (none of which are remotely transition relevant) that all point towards one applaudable message (at lines 56-58).

- *A/ms respond before the completion of the TCU : speaker immediately signals they* [*should*] *hold off*. McCain thanks the audience for bringing him in first [place] – essentially announcing a victory (at lines 04-06); but, before he can complete the unit [by identifying what he has won], a few audience members interject with their celebratory and congratulatory responses (at arrowed lines 08, 09, 12, and 13). Here McCain uses a mix of non-verbal gestures (at arrowed starred lines 10-11/14) to discourage them: raising his eyebrows while tilting his head slightly (at lines 10-11), and then motioning with a pointed finger that they should 'wait' (at line 14), as shown in Figure 3.3, below.

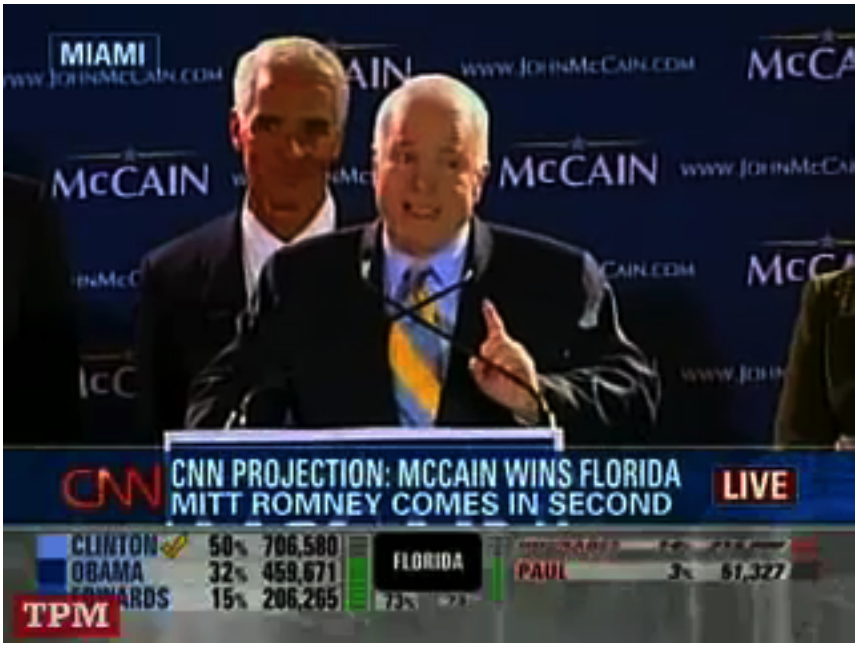

Figure 3.3 Senator John McCain discouraging audience members from responding prematurely.

Although this appears to have a structure similar to that of 'response in anticipation of completion' (where the audience can determine where the point is headed), McCain does not treat it as such. Rather than continue with the unit in progress, he pauses and hedges in his delivery of the rest of his turn in order to attempt to hold off the response. In this way he treats the response as premature, rather than simply

'early.' In other words, his display (that they should "hold [off]" their response) conveys that there is more to come before the entire unit is possibly complete thereby suggesting that he is not near a TRP. However, this (at line 07) instead provides an opportunity for more of the audience to join in (clapping grows louder at line 13, with the cheering starting immediately after, at line 18). So, after dropping out and waiting for this to die down (at line 17/18), he then continues – building upon his prior utterance syntactically (where he had cut off initially "i(h) in-" at line 07) and completing the unit ("…in a- as I have been repeatedly reminded…" at lines 19-20)

- *Responses at possible completions that are not transition relevant:: speakers continue in overlap, ignoring if individualistic or competing if Aud/AUD.* There are several places where McCain's opening gets responses from audience members at moments that are clearly not designed as transition relevant places: (a) As McCain declares his affections, the use of "always" (at line 23) as an opener along with its rising intonation indicates he will explain what this means before his unit will be transition relevant. Despite this, some audience members respond (at lines 25-26); (b) He begins the explanation with "from the time…" (at line 27) which sets up the relevance of another moment ("to the time") before transition will be relevant, yet a few audience members cheer at its completion – most likely in response to the geographic reference (Pensacola) at lines 30-32. Both times, rather than wait for these individual responses to develop (possibly into a larger response, as we saw previously), McCain presses on to *take* his next turn. Notice that he does not overlap the individual responses as they come to a close (as we noted speakers do; recall ex. 3.01 and ex. 3.02). Instead, McCain begins his turns very near their start/s: there is only a (0.9) and (0.8) gap (at lines 27 and 33, respectively) before he begins his turn/s; and one audience member is even "mid-turn" ("and we love you" at line 26).

  However, when responses to possible completions come from a slightly larger portion of the audience (especially responses that are of the mutual

monitoring type), speakers may use different methods for dealing them. When McCain mentions his appreciation for the compassion of a particular neighborhood, some of the audience begins to clap and cheer in support of this (despite it not necessarily being in line with the political goals of the occasion[123]). When the clapping starts building (at line 47), McCain first pauses and hedges again (at line 46) – which (again) gives the audience a moment to build the response even more. However, after a couple seconds, while the response is now full swing, McCain makes several attempts to regain the turn by recycling portions of his turn, specifically the portion that was cutoff by the premature response ("while I was away…" at line 46 cutoff by clapping on 47; he attempts again – twice – on line 49).

As these instances show, speakers have range of methods for managing the different contingencies associated with mis-placed applause. However, speakers are not the only ones with a method for dealing with these infractions. As with the methods that speakers use, the methods that audiences use to manage these problems also reflect an effort to adhere to the framework while attempting to deal with conduct that departs from it. In this respect, the uneven distribution in the rights and opportunities for speakers and audience is also reflected in the methods each of these parties use to address problems as they arise.

The audience's methods for dealing with contingencies are quite different from that of a speaker. This is because each party has different restrictions placed on what is allowable as a contribution, and so this in turn bears on the methods each has available to them for managing contingencies that arise. Take for example the following speech from President Obama's speech in Fort Myers, Florida, during the 2012 campaign season. When he and a majority of the audience transition from the "entrance/welcoming-cheers" segment to the "speech [opening]" segment, a few audience members do not follow suit – screaming (still doing welcoming cheers) as the speaker begins to talk (at starred lines 22-24, 26-27, 29-30, 36, and 38). First, Obama makes several of his own attempts. But when the screams

[123] We will explore actions/relevant responses for this occasion in Chapter 4.

continue despite these attempts, fellow audience members – rather than mirror the speakers' attempts – take it upon themselves to urge those screamers to quiet down. They 'shush' them (at arrowed lines 37, 39, 42, 45, and 46).

[ex. 3.09] "Shushes" ~ B. Obama
July 20, 2012 ~ Fort Myers, FL (Campaign Event)

```
01    AUD:     ROA{R----------{---------[-------------]=
02    Oba:        {Home-Ready-Position
                   approaches podium, touches prepared
                   remarks, looks down at podium;
03                |- (2.3) -| {looks up, waives at AUD
04                           |-(0.7)-| [°Thank you.°  ]
05    AUD:     =[ROAR-----[---------------------{----=
06    Oba:      |-(1.7)-| [Thank you everybody.=
07                                          ={nods
08    AUD:     =[ROAR-------{--------[------{----CHEERS--
09    Oba:      |- (1.0) -| {lifts arms, hands face down;
                            "pumps" them once
10    Oba:                 |-(0.5)-|[THANK {YOU. (0.3)
11                                        {pumps hands
12    AUD:     =[CHEERS--che{[e[r[s-claps[-----]
13    OBA:      [Thank you.=
14                        ={Home-Ready-Position
                            Looks down at podium/remarks
15    A/m:                =[(     )
16    A/m:                   [(     )
17    A/m:                     [WOO::::
18                         |- (1.1) -|[We[ll,-] (.)
19    A/m:                              [(       )
```

20 A/m: [WOO::::::=

21 Oba: =Uh:-(b)-=[(0.6) = [>Le-l-[l-]l-le-le'm-<=

22 A/m: * (O)=[BAMA::!=

23 A/m: * =W[OO::::[:!]

24 A/m: * [( )

25 Oba: lemme fi[rst of all sa[y:::,

26 A/m: * [( )

27 A/m: * [O:BA:MA::[:[:,

28 A/m: -> [SH:::::::

29 A/m: * [WOO-HOO:=

30 * =[OO::::::::]

31 Oba: =[Le-l-{L[e-]l-le-lemme fi[rst} of=

32 {*puts up a "stop" hand;*

small pumps 2 times }

33 A/m: {*CLAP!*

34 A/m: [(!)

35 Oba: =[all=[s-=

36 A/m: * [WOO:[::::

37 A/m: -> [SHH::::::!

38 A/m: * =LO[VE YOU BAR{A:[CK!

39 A/m: -> [SH::::::!

40 Oba: {*turns his head away,*

puts up a "stop" hand

41 [Ul-[l-=

42 Aud: -> [SHH

43 A/m: =>> =Le[t'im

44 =>> =[talk.= [(0.2) {Come [on!

45 A/m: -> [SHH!::::hh:::::::::::::°::::[:

46 A/m: -> =S[HH!::hh:::::::::°::::[:

47 Aud: [*chatter*:::::::::°::::[:

48 Oba: {*"HRP"*

49 |- (1.0) { -|[T! |- (1.6) -|

50 A/m: [( )

51 Oba: Uh- Let me first of all say:, uh, how

52 grateful I am for all you being here,

After approaching the podium, the speaker thanks the audience and then, in a manner very similar to what we saw Hillary do (in ex. 3.07), signals he is going to begin: he adopts a 'home-ready-position' at the podium (at lines 02 and again at 14), offers an appreciative 'thank you' (at line 04) – along with subsequent upgraded versions (at lines 06 and 10/13), produces a nod (at line 07), and extends both arms out in a 'quiet down' fashion (at line 09). This audience settles down relatively quickly, but some audience members remain uncooperative. Following the speaker's first upgraded thank you (the "Thank you everybody" at line 06 – with the 'everybody' post-address term marking that what he is doing is something additional) and an attempt with both arms to get them to 'quiet down' (at line 09), the roar from the audience decreases to CHEERS (at line 08). Then when he completes the second of his 'back-to-back' thank yous (at lines 10/13) the CHEERS decrease to mild cheers (at line 12). You can see in the video that the audience seated behind him stops clapping and begins sitting down. But as he starts the speech (at lines 18/21), several audience members continue with their welcoming cheers (at starred lines 22-24), and when he starts up again (at line 25), they do, too (at lines 26-27). When they continue despite Obama's efforts and actually gain additional screamers (at starred lines 36 and 38), several [other] audience members take it upon themselves to 'shush' them (at arrowed lines 28, 37, 39, 42, 45, and 46). One audience member even chastises the screamers ("let'im talk. Come on!" at double-arrowed lines 43-44). At this point, these shushers overwhelm, the straggling screams dwindle, and Obama begins the speech in the clear (at lines 51-52).

These infractions need not even be as piercing nor boisterous for the audience to come in. While McCain is in the midst of thanking the audience for his victory in the New Hampshire primary, a few audience members can be heard talking (in a volume quite low, especially compared to the speaker, at lines 06-12). After a few seconds of this chattering, someone proceeds to 'shush' the talker/s (at line 13).

[ex. 3.10] "Shushhhhh" ~ J. McCain
Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua, NH (NH Primary)

```
01    AUD:     [ R O A R / APPLAUSE ] [clapping
02    McC:     |--     ((8.0))    --| [We came back here
03             to this wonderful state we've come to trust
04             and love. m=.hh And we had just one
05             strategy. [(0.4) to tell
06                       [((background noise; inaudible
               while McCain speaks, but very clear during
               silences/in-breaths, through to line 12))
07             you what I believe. .h I didn't just tell
08             you what the p(h)olls said you wanted to
09             hea:r, .mt=.hh I didn't tell you what I knew
10             to be false, .hh I didn't try to spin yeuh.
11             .mt=h I just talked to the people of New
12             Hamp[shire. (0.4) mt=h I talked] about the
13    ?/m: -->      [shhhhhHHHHHHHHHHHHhhhhhhhh]
14    McC:     country we lo:ve. .hh the many challenges we
```

With the speech underway, someone in the room is talking. Although this troublesome talk is neither excessively loud nor disruptive (as the screams are in ex. 3.09) to the point where they can be heard over the speaker's actual talk, it is clear enough to be heard during quiet

moments (see lines 05/06). When this goes beyond a few moments, someone in the audience 'shushes/hushes' those talking (at line 13). McCain then continues, with no one else talking.

These intervening screams and remarks are slightly disruptive, but they are not designed to interfere. Their composition (screams, cheers, applause) and timing (slightly early; at possible completions) indicate they are designed to be supportive and affiliative, even if ill timed or poorly placed (at non-TRPs). In contrast, this next section covers another type of framework-based contingency: when participants withhold their cooperation and instead challenge the structure. In other words, when they heckle the speaker. These are violations specifically designed (in both composition and position) to disrupt the speech, and thus the event. And just like the opening screams have a place where they are most likely to occur, so do disruptions. These almost always occur well after the speech has begun (rather than at the beginning) – disrupting the speech can only be accomplished if the speech is underway.

3.2.2 WITHHOLDING COOPERATION: DISRUPTIONS FROM HECKLERS IN THE AUDIENCE

Heckling is typically thought of as harassing or interrupting a [public] speaker or performer by questioning, objecting, or otherwise challenging her. Here, in addition to its commonplace understanding of being "against the speaker" (and therefore negative and potentially derisive), we look at heckling in terms of the way it is treated as a violation of the institutional norms underpinning campaign rallies. This is most apparent if we consider how these interruptions are dealt with – and by whom.

Speakers have more options (compared to the audience), which vary in the extent to which she acknowledges the disruption[124]. These options range from acknowledging the interruption indirectly (without addressing its content or its negative implications) to

[124] It is worth a mention here that the disruption is always addressed. In contrast with the premature responses we just discussed (where speakers can exercise discretion in choosing which to treat as problematic), no hecklers drop out when the speaker continues. And actually, the opposite occurs: if the speaker continues, the heckling only gets louder.

breaking with the speech to directly address that someone is heckling. In doing so, the speaker addresses an initiating action (FPP) to the audience, which re-engages the speaker/AUD dynamic (the one the heckler is attempting to disrupt) by prompting a response from the audience. The audience, on the other hand, only has the option of drowning out the heckling by either cheering and/or chanting [against the heckler, in support of the speaker] or by booing/jeering [the heckler/disruption]. Regardless of method or party, attempts to deal with heckling are framework appropriate turns for both the speaker ("initiates") and the audience ("collective response").

Structurally, heckling involves an audience member's (or audience members') turn that is, first, neither collective nor responsive. Instead, she produces an initiating turn – a FPP (i.e., "self selection"). As we will see, these typically come as either of shouts out or chants of something oppositional (i.e., something disaffiliative). In this way, the turn is disruptive because it attempts to speak to or with the speaker/AUD, attempting to prompt a response (a SPP). Secondly, the turn does not necessarily come at a TRP, nor does it trail off or cease when the speaker continues (and therefore not cooperative). Finally, these types of disruptions occur after the speech is well under way[125]. For example, when Governor Mike Huckabee begins to talk about how they should vote [i.e., 'vote for him'], an audience member begins screaming something inaudible (at starred lines 07)[126]. Although Huckabee attempts to continue, the heckling persists (at line 09). When it becomes unrelenting and more intrusive (at starred lines 14, 17, 20-34), Huckabee indirectly deals with the

---

[125] In the handful of heckles collected, not one occurred at the beginning of the speech or remotely near the end of the speech. This could be in part because if it were done at the "start" of the speech it is at risk of being buried by other "individualistic" responses. Perhaps more importantly, though, it would not disrupt anything because the speech/occasion is not yet underway. Heckling too close to the end has the same problem: heckling the end of the speech would not disrupt the event, because the event would be over. It typically happens when speakers reach an important portion of their speech.

[126] Although in this portion of the clip the screams are inaudible, several moments later (in 2.08-2, the "long" version of the clip) it becomes much clearer, revealing the heckler screaming, "Mike Huckabee's top advisor Richard Haas is President of the Council on Foreign Relations! The Council on Foreign Relations is an organization determined to destroy the United States' sovereignty! Richard Haas you are a wolf in sheep's clothing! Beware New Hampshire! Beware America!")

interruption by complimenting the audience ("…one of the great things about New Hampshire…" at double-arrowed lines 36-37) and then overtly prompts them to cheer ("Let's hear it for free speech!" at double-arrowed line 44).

[ex. 3.11] "Let's Hear it for Free Speech" ~ M. Huckabee
Jan 06, 2008 — Windham, New Hampshire (Rally)

```
01    Huc:     It's hard to disagree with your (gue:st),=
02             =but I gotta disagree with one thing he
03             said.=Now I'm not gonna tell you how to
04             vo:te, (0.9) Well ↑I am, (.) okay,=heh=
05             =[(.) heh.
06    Aud:     =[chuckles---[claps-
07   HA/m:                  |  [(      [                 )]=
08    Huc:                  |- (1.5) -|[I need you to vote]=
09   HA/m:     =[(                        )
10             =[for me on Tuesdee. [(0.9) And uh:, (1.2)]=
11    Aud:                          [mild cheers---------]=
12    Huc:     =[if you're no[t gonna vote for me,=
13    Aud:     =[mild cheers-[applause------------=[-----]=
14   HA/m: *                                      =[(   )]
15    Aud:     =[appl{ause-[----[clapping-------}---------]
16    Huc:           {fixated glare into AUD----}
17   HA/m: *    |-(0.8)-|  [(   [   )
18    Huc:                       [if you're not g}onna vote]
19             for me, [then I need you to just go]=
20   HA/m: *           [(                        )]=
21    Huc:     =[ahead,- (.) and vote-, f-
22   HA/m: *   =[(                          the number one)
23             (power     [                  )]=
```

```
24   2A/m:                [(Mike's the (forty)]=
25   HA/m: *   =[(                                  )]=
26   2A/m:      =(fou[rth           =[      )
27   3A/m:           [WE LOVE M[IKE!=[ (.) [WE LO[VE  ]=
28   4A/m:                     [(    [           [ )
29    Huc:                          [heh=
30   5A/m:                              =c[lappi[ng--]=
31   6A/m:                                      [(YE)]=
32   3A/m:     =[MIKE!=[(.) WE LOVE M[IKE!
33   5A/m:     =[clappi[ng---------]=[
34   6A/m:     =[(EAH:)[::::::::::]=[
35    Aud:            =[(         )!=[
36    Huc: ->>                     =[You know one of the
37         ->> gre[at things about N]ew Hampshire,
38   8A/m:        [(               )]
39             (.)
40   HA/m:     (  [                 )]
41    Huc:     (.)[free speech is ali:]ve and well in New
42             Hampshire isn't it [ladies and]=
43    Aud:                        [°cheers°---]=
44    Huc: ->> =[gentlemen,=LET'S HEAR=[IT FOR FREE SPEECH.
45    AUD:     =[°cheers°--------------[cheers-------------
46             cheers/applause----------------applause----
```

After Huckabee's plea for their vote (at lines 04, 08/10) and the audience's mild response (lines 06, 11/13), a lone audience member begins screaming something indistinguishable (at lines 09/14). When Huckabee continues, the shouting only grows louder. After Huckabee first displays some sense of trouble (the fixated glare on line 16 and hedging at line 21)

before stopping altogether (at line 21), some of the audience begins to scream[127] (at lines 22-34). Huckabee deals with this by addressing the audience rather than the heckler or responding to the heckler's comment. He tongue-in-cheekily compliments New Hampshire ("one of the great things about New Hampshire, free speech is alive and well in New Hampshire" at double-arrowed lines 36-37). He overtly tags the audience as the intended recipient/s from whom a response would be due ("isn't it ladies and gentlemen" at lines 42/44). He then finishes up with an explicit invitation to cheer ("LET'S HEAR IT FOR FREE SPEECH" at double-arrowed line 44). Complimenting the audience acknowledges the situation without addressing the heckler directly, or the content of his heckling. Celebrating it as an example of free speech without directly responding to it [as a criticism], coupled with the explicit tag/invitation to cheer, in effect removes the relevance of heckle/r from the sequence. The audience, in turn, responds to each of these devices: a small portion cheers after the first possible completion (the "°cheers°" following "isn't it" at line 42/43), more join following the incremental post-positioned address term (becoming 'cheers' just following "ladies and gentlemen" at line 44/45), and those cheers turn to cheers/applause following his solicitation (following "let's hear it…" at line 44/46). After making several more remarks in competition with the heckler[128], Huckabee continues the speech and the audience responds on point (and the heckler is no longer heard screaming) – thus re-engaging the framework.

Hecklers can also disrupt by chanting an oppositional phrase (rather than a supportive one). For example, during her speech in Salem, New Hampshire, an audience member begins taunting Hillary Clinton with a chauvinistic chant (telling her to "Iron my shirt" – rhythmically repeating it at starred lines 03, 05, 07, 10, 12, 16, 18, 19, and 23). And this time, Hillary elects to be a bit more direct in addressing the content of the interruption – while still addressing the audience (rather than the heckler). Instead of responding directly

[127] We will deal with this issue in the very next section.
[128] Where Huckabee jokes, and makes more compliments – to which the audience also responds.

to the insult (by either rejecting it or confronting the heckler), she makes an assessment of the comment/commenter (at arrowed lines 24-25) – essentially calling him/the comments out-dated and sexist. The audience responds to this with cheers and applause (at lines 26/28).

[ex. 3.12] "Iron My Shirt" ~ H. Clinton

Jan 07, 2008 — Salem, N.H.

```
01              .mt! Some people thin:k, (.) you bring
02              about change, (.)[by demanding it? (0.6) ]
03  1HA/m: *                    I [R O N.  MY.  S H I R T!]
04    HCl:      a[nd SO:ME PEOPL:E THINK,= [you bring]=
05  1HA/m: *     [IRON.  MY.  SHIRT! (.) =I[RON.  MY ]=
06    HCl:      =[abou[t cha:nge (0.5) [BY:::=
07  1HA/m: *    =[SHIR[T!  (.)  IRON.  [MY. SHIRT! (.)]=
08    Aud:            [murmurs-------------------------]=
09   ?A/m:                                  =[(     )]
10  1HA/m: *    =[I:R[ON. MY. SHIRT! (.) IRON. MY. SHIRT!]
11    AUD:      =[mur[MURS-------------------------------]=
12  1HA/m: * ⌈   [(.) [I  R  O  N.   [M  Y.     S H ] I R T!
13    HCl:            [>C/n we< turn [the lights on?]  (.)
14    AUD:    ⌊  =[MURM[URS-----------[murmurs--------------
15            ⌈   [It's awfully d[ark. here for everybo]dy.]=
16  1HA/m: *                    [I R O N.  MY.  SHIRT!](.)]
17    AUD:    ⌊  =[murmurs-------[----------------------]---]=

18  2HA/m: * ⌈  =[IRON, MY [SHIRT.  (.)   [IRON, MY SHIRT.]
19  1HA/m: *              [IRON. MY. [SHI[RT!
20   ?A/m:                           [(     )
21    AUD:    ⌊  =[murmurs--[MURMURS---[---[---------------]=
```

```
22    AUD:     =[murmurs---[----------------------]
23  ?HA/m: *    |- (0.7) -|[IRON. MY. [SHI[RT! (.)]
24    HCl:  -> OH::::::, the remnants of <sexism,> alive
25          -> 'en [well:, tonig[ht. |-      (5.1)       -|
26    AUD:         [cheers------[CHEERS/APPLAUSE-----------
27    HCl:     [You know what!
28    AUD:     [CHEERS/APPLAUSE----------------------------

(( (45.0), several lines of cheering and jeering omitted))

45    HCl:  -> As I think, (0.3) has just been abundantly
46          -> demonstrated. [.h I am-  (2.2) [I am also
47    AUD:                   [chuckles--------[-------
48    HCl:  -> running, (0.9) to break through:, (.) the
49          -> highest and hardest glass [ceiling [(FOR
50    AUD:                               [CHEERS--[ROAR----
51    HIL:  -> [(OUR DAUGHTERS.) (                ) (FOR
52    AUD:     [ROAR---------------------------------------
53    HCl:     [OUR CHILDREN. AND FOR OUR COUNTRY. .HH AND
54    AUD:     [ROAR---------------------------------------
55    HCl:     [REALLY, (.) FOR WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD.)
56    AUD:     [ROAR---------------------------------------
```

During Hillary's speech a heckling audience member (hereafter "HA/m") mocks Hillary with a chant-like rhythm to "Iron my shirt" (at starred lines 03/05/07, etc.). This chant-rhythm attempts to exploit the benefits of a supportive chant (as described in Chapter 2) to induce others to join, but it is quite different. Besides its composition (contextually being an insult), we can note that it (a) has a chant-like format/rhythm but it does not emerge from of a roar or cheer (as a typical affiliative chant does), and (b) it does not come following a transition relevant place. [So] Hillary continues her speech in overlap despite it (at lines

02/03 and 04/05), even competing with the heckler (notice her increased volume, at line 04). However, she eventually stops her speech (at line 06) and, in a rare move, *the* speech event (at line 13) when she breaks from her role as speaker to ask for the lights to be turned on[129]. When she stops, the heckler persists – even gaining an additional heckler (at line 18)[130]. Without directly by responding to it, and without explicitly tagging the audience (as Huckabee did in 3.11), she negatively assesses the interruption (at lines 24-25) by commenting on the presence ("tonight") of "sexism" (and notice the negative connation with the 'stretch' and emphasis on the word), while insinuating the chauvinistic sentiments are out-dated ("remnants" and "alive 'en well"). Just as 'noticing the absence of something' is a way to complain (Schegloff 1988, 2007), here to notice the remnants of something negative is also to complain about and be critical of it. However, although it is a criticism of the heckle/r, the tone and volume of the delivery indicates it is nevertheless formed up as a comment for the audience; she gives the audience an assessment to respond to[131]. Notice how the audience responds with a resounding CHEER in agreement with the remark (and, by extension, in support of her) – thereby re-engaging the speaker/AUD dynamic. It is an "initiate/response" pair. Interestingly, after the cheers and jeers subside (and the hecklers are escorted out), she incorporates the moment as instead an applaudable one. Rather than a distraction, this is in fact a demonstration of the difficulties she (as a woman) faces (at lines 45-51). The audience erupts with a roar (at line 50).

In a rare move, the speaker can address the heckler and the negative premise of their interruption. However, in addressing the interruption in this way, speakers acknowledge that the 'HA/m' is heckling but do not respond to the substantive content

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[129] And although not transcribable – and therefore not on the transcript, take note (in the audio) of the very noticeable difference in the tone and volume of her voice when she switches from "being speaker" to requesting the lights be turned on "for everybody" (at lines 13/15). As we will see later in Chapter 4, requesting the lights be turned on at this moment may have something to do with the arrival of security on the scene.

[130] However (interestingly), in keeping with the purpose of the heckle, the one other person that joins (most likely a co-conspirator as they are seated next to one another) does so at a different pace than the original heckler – making it doubly "disruptive."

[131] Which we will explore in further detail in Ch4.

(which would open up an exchange between speaker and HA/m). Rather, it is done in such a way that keeps with the framework by opening up the 'next' slot/turn for the audience to respond rather than the heckler. This re-engages the "initiate-response" pattern/pairs as the audience gives a round of support for the speaker following her comment. For example, during a rally in Clearwater, Florida, Palin is heckled as she explains some of McCain's qualifications (at lines 12-14). She breaks from her speech delivery, turns to face the heckler, and then addresses him (at lines 17-20) with a veiled criticism that is wrapped in blessings. The audience erupts with a supportive roar (at line 23).

[ex. 3.13] "Bless your heart, sir" ~ S. Palin (simplified)
Oct 06, 2008 – Clearwater, FL (Rally)

```
01    Pal:     [As I explained- (0.6)] As I explained to
02             Senator Biden, (0.9) John McCain is the only
03             man in this race, who will solve our
04             economic crises and not exploit it.
05    A/m:     AND YOU'RE THE ONLY WOM[AN!
06    Pal:                            [And he's the only
07             man in this race with a plan that will
08             actually help our working families, and cut
09             your taxes, and get our economy back on the
10             right track.
11    AUD:     applause/cheers
12    Pal:     He's the only man in this race, [who talks]
13   HA/m:  ->                                [(       )]
14    Pal:     [about the wars that America IS FIGHTI]NG.
15   HA/m:  -> [(                                  !)]
16             (0.7) ((Palin turns towards heckler))
17    Pal: ->> You know bless your heart sir:, (0.2) My
18         ->> son's over in Ira:q, (.) fighting for yer
```

```
*19        ->> right t[o protest r[ight now.[{God bless'ya.
*20                   |           |         |{points and
                      |           |         | nods at
                      |           |         | the H-A/m
21    A/m:            [clap       |         |
22    Aud:                        [woo::::::[
23    AUD:                                  [ROAR--------=
24             ={--------{----{----{----{----{----{-------]
25    Pal:      {turns away from H-A/m toward main AUD
26              |(1.1)|
27              |-(1.6)-|{claps 4 times
28                       (x.x){turns towards H-A/m,
                                still clapping — and nods
29                              (x.x){gives H-A/m a
                                      "thumbs up"
30                                    (x.x){claps
31                                          (x.x){(blows a kiss
                                                  to H-A/m)
32                                          (x.x){claps--]
```

While delivering a series of McCain's qualifications (lines 02-04 and 06-10/12/14), a single audience member begins shouting (at lines 13/15). And although inaudible, we know two things. We can see that it comes at a moment that is not yet transition relevant: Palin is in the middle of the third "he's the only man…" item (at lines 02-03, 07-08, and 12), having not yet produced the "who has…" portion. He continues to yell out despite Palin's attempt to continue with the speech (at lines 14-15). She immediately stops to address the heckler – literally – and *treats* it as disruptive (compare it to the individualistic supportive scream that goes unaddressed at line 05). Just like Hillary (in ex. 3.12), she breaks from the speech [delivery]. But unlike Hillary, Palin turns towards the HA/m (and, more notably, away from

the audience; at line 16) and addresses him directly, or at least she appears to. She first appears to express gratitude for his presence and comment ("…bless your heart sir." at line 17), but then immediately turns it around. She acknowledges he is protesting, but sidesteps the relevance of its content by instead celebrating it as an instance of our right to protest (lines 17-19). By turning it into something patriotic and to be celebrated by all (the right to protest and her son/our troops in Iraq), it targets the audience as the ones who should respond. It re-engages the initiate/respond sequence by producing an applaudable. And the audience indeed responds with supportive cheers and applause (at lines 21-24). Notice that even the speaker joins in. A second angle of the exchange (video 3.13b; added to the excerpt as lines 19-32) shows that just a second after she blesses him again (while she points and nods), she begins clapping – even gives him a thumbs up and (what looks to be) blows him a kiss in a gesture of "thanks."

This instance also demonstrates the risk in addressing the heckler directly. In looking at and addressing him directly, it potentially tags him as next rather than the audience. As Palin is talking the HA/m can be seen nodding; and just as Palin finishes ("fighting for your right to protest") the HA/m can be seen gearing up to talk: his chin lifts and his mouth open in preparation to start. And when Palin finishes, he can be seen yelling (back) and pointing at her. However, as previously explained, the audience is also given the opportunity to respond – and their cheers and applause drown out his screams.

But audiences can cheer/applaud as a means to drown out the heckler without prompts from speakers. The key difference with this type is the placement or position of these cheers. Rather than produce them in 'next' position (waiting for the HA/m or speaker to finish), these responses are produced in direct competition; overlapping the heckling in an attempt to silence or drown them out. Recall excerpt 3.11, where Gov. Mike Huckabee calls for the audience to celebrate free speech. Just prior Huckabee's attempts to deal with the HA/m, several audience members deal with the heckler in their own way by 'cheering, whooping, and screaming things of their own (almost all of which are indiscernible from the

recording), and some of the audience clap (at arrowed lines 06/08, 09/14, 10, 12/15, and 13/16).

```
((abridged from previously seen ex. 3.11))
[ex. 3.14]  “We love Mike” ~ M. Huckabee
            Jan 06, 2008 – Windham, New Hampshire

01              for me, [then I need you to just go]=
02   HA/m:               [(                        )]=
03    Huc:      =[ahead,- (.) and vote-, f-
04   HA/m:      =[(                          the number one)
05              (power     [                  )]=
06   2A/m: ->              [(Mike’s the (forty)]=
07   HA/m:      =[(                                  )]=
08   2A/m: ->    =(fou[rth           =[      )
09   3A/m: ->         [WE LOVE M[IKE!=[ (.) [WE LO[VE  ]=
10   4A/m:                       [(    [           [ )
11    Huc:                            [heh=
12   5A/m: ->                             =c[lappi[ng--]=
13   6A/m: ->                                    [(YE)]=
14   3A/m:      =[MIKE!=[(.) WE LOVE M[IKE!
15   5A/m:      =[clappi[ng---------]=[
16   6A/m:      =[(EAH:)[::::::::::]=[
17    Aud:             =[(         )!=[
18    Huc: ->>                      =[You know one of the
19         ->> gre[at things about N]ew Hampshire,
```

As previously mentioned, after stumbling to continue with the speech, Huckabee eventually stops (at line 03). After a few more moments of [at this point indiscernible] yelling by the

heckler, several audience members yell, chant [an individual chant], and cheer *in complete overlap* with – and counter to, or in opposition with – the HA/m:

- a second audience member ("2A/m") comes in after the HA/m has been yelling for a few seconds; overlapping the HA/m (mostly indiscernible except for a short portion where he can be heard yelling about Mike being "the forty-fourth…" – which we can assume is a supportive remark regarding Huckabee being the next – the forty-fourth – President (at lines 06-08);
- a third audience member ("3A/m") begins chanting, "We love Mike!" (at lines 09/14);
- a fourth audience member ("4A/m") begins yelling something inaudible (at line 10);
- a fifth audience member ("5A/m") begins clapping (solo claps can be heard at lines 12/15);
- a sixth audience member ("6A/m") screams a long [2.5 second] extended "yeah (at lines 13/16)
- A few more audience members begin to join in (at line 17)

Each of these audience members does not wait for any type of completion (or a TRP) before responding, but rather produce their cheers, chant, and applause in direct competition with the heckler – in essence an attempt to "drown out" the heckle/r. But more importantly, the content of these cheers go against the heckle/r. By being 'supportive' [of] ("we love…" chant; 'next president' cheers; applause), their content is also in direct opposition of what the heckling is designed to accomplish. Not only are they showing support, but also their demonstration of it re-engages the system. Eventually, when their 'cheers' die down (during which time the hecklers will stop), the speaker will then have a [systematic] place to start her next turn. In addition, by producing 'collective' responses (cheers, applause, chants) they provide a place and a means for others to join [and do the same].

The heckling shouts and screams, because of their "displacement" (i.e., not following a round of cheers/applause, not at TRPs), are so susceptible to being heard as "disruptive" that they can even be mistaken for heckling when they are in fact screams for some other purpose. For example, during a Palin rally in Richmond, Virginia, several audience members

in the back [of a crowd of an estimated 30k+] are shouting/chanting because they cannot hear the speaker. Both the speaker and some of the audience misinterpret these screams for heckling. Some of the audience scream and boo while others produce a counter chant (at lines 08-15). Palin chastises them, even calling them 'protesters' (at lines 16-18), until she is informed that they simply cannot hear her.

[ex. 3.15] "Supporters, not protestors" (simpl.) ~ S. Palin
Oct 13, 2008 — Richmond, VA (Rally)

```
01    Pal:     [Those Americans are struggling under]
02    Aud:     [(   •Lou: - der.    Lou: - der.•   )]

03    Pal:     [the weight {of the (wrong) mortgage.]
04    Aud:     [(•Lou:-der.{    Lou:   -    der. •  )]
05                          {turns and glares at one
                             section of the AUD
06    AUD:     (Lou-der.={ Lou-{der. [Lou-der. [Lou-der.)
07    Pal:               ={nods (several times)
                               {points
08                                   [murmurs--[---------]=
09                                             [boo::::::]

10              =[MURMURS--------[----------------------]=
11    AUD: ->                    [Sah-rah. Sah-rah. SAH-]=

12         ->  =[RAH. SAH-RAH. SAH-RAH! SAH-RAH! SAH-RAH!]=
13         ->  =[BOOS/HISSES/SHOUTS----------------------]=

14         ->  =[SAH-RAH! SAH-RAH! Sah-[rah!
15         ->  =[murmurs---------------[------------]
16    Pal:                              [I would hope] at
17              least that those pro:testor::s, (.)
```

18 [have the [courage and the ho:nor of]

19 AUD: [murmurs--[shouts-------------------]=

20 Pal: [thanking our vet'rans [for giving them]

21 AUD: =[SHOUTING--------------[murmurs--------]=

22 Pal: [the {right to pro[test. ={ (1.4) •Thank•]

23 =[{*nods* {*turns away*

from mic

24 AUD: =[{murmurs-----[cheers={CHEERS-----------]=

25 Tod: {*stands up*

26 Pal: =[•you guys•]

27 AUD: =[CHEERS---]------[cheers---------------]=

28 Tod: |(0.6)|[°They just can't hear°]

29 you back there (that's [why they're]=

30 Pal: [•>Okay I'm]=

31 Tod: =[(yellin' (louder).°)

32 Pal: =[•doin' that.<•

Structurally speaking, these chants and shouts (at lines 01-04) do not resemble the features discussed in Chapter 2: (1) these are in complete overlap with the speaker's turn; (2) they do not subside despite the speaker continuing to talk; (3) they do not follow a speaker's prompt (at a TRP); and (4) they do not emerge out of cheers/applause. Both the speaker and the audience register this as problematic. After Palin breaks from her speech delivery to acknowledge it (the nods and point at line 07), several audience members attempt to drown it out: first the murmurs begin (at line 06), which then grow to louder murmurs; others boo, hiss, and shout (at lines 09/13). As it continues, a group of the audience attempts to cancel-out this ("Lou-der") chant by producing a counter chant ("Sah-rah!"). It matches in structure

(two-syllables), tone (the emphasis on the first syllable[132]), and tempo (same exact beat structure) in an attempt to drown out the perceived heckling (beginning at line 11). After that episode dies down, rather than continue the speech, Palin takes a moment to reprimand the supposed hecklers, calling them protesters and treating them as ungrateful for the right to protest ("I would at least hope…" at lines 14-20) – albeit mistakenly[133]. A moment later it is brought to her attention that the shouts are not hecklers but in fact merely a group of attendees who cannot hear her.

This section points out the several different types of structural contingencies that both speakers and audiences can deal with. And as we have seen, how the parties attempt to resolve the situation must work *within* the framework and conform to the prescribed practices – lest they themselves be considered a violation (e.g., 'displacement' of screams can get misinterpreted as heckling). So when we say format-based (or structural) contingencies, we refer to the systematic issues that occur regardless of the individual/ speaker's turn design: troubles getting started, troubles at the start, and heckling all occur regardless of the [individual] content of the speaker's turn/s. What is at stake is the overall structure of the occasion. In this next section we turn our attention to those contingencies based on issues with the speaker's turn design, and also how the speaker (alone) deals with those issues.

3.3 [SPEAKERS'] TURN-DESIGN BASED CONTINGENCIES

Previous research unveils the lengths to which speakers can go to in an attempt to coordinate the audience's response/s (c.f., Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b; Heritage & Greatbatch,

---

[132] Notice that initial chants are emphasize the first syllable ("Sah:-rah.") which match almost exactly the "Lou:-der." chants; and as the counter chant progresses, it eventually morphs to where the stress on the second syllable ("Sah-RAH!")

[133] Additional evidence for this is the [supportive] shouting that overlaps her turn. Notice it has stopped as she begins her turn (at line 14), but once she calls them protesters the murmurs begin; and by the time she talks about their "courage and honor" the audience begins to shout (at line 17). These are not screams of support (like the ones that come at her turn's completion at line 21), but rather murmurs and shouts that resemble disagreement. Perhaps coming from the A/ms who were mistaken as protesters.

1986). It should be no surprise, though, that sometimes these carefully crafted remarks do not unfold exactly as planned. Issues with the design of the speaker's turn/s can produce problems for when and how the audience responds[134]; more specifically, as a result the audience's response can resemble something more like a 'mutual monitoring' type of response as opposed to the typical – and preferred – 'independent decision' type. These come in the form of either premature responses (at non-TRPs, and therefore encroaching on the speaker's turn) or less than forthcoming responses (that are late or lagging) despite coming at or near a TRP. And with each of these, we examine the range of issues the speaker must deal with and the possible resources used in an attempt to deal with them.

3.3.1 A PREMATURE RESPONSE: THE AUDIENCE ENCROACHES

When some of the audience responds to something that the speaker has not designed to be transition relevant, it can be problematic in multiple ways. Although it is typically supportive (i.e., cheers or applause) and comes immediately following the completion of a TCU, it usually only comes from a small portion of the audience with a trajectory that is slower to take off and has more of a gradual build up. The speaker's attempts to deal with these types of responses include attempts to halt the audience's response before it has a chance to pick up, pause the production of her speech, or continue in overlap using various 'adjustments' (Jefferson, 2004(1975)) or 'hitches and perturbations' (Schegloff, 2000).

As previously mentioned, beginnings are the most susceptible to problems in turn taking. We saw this in the previous section during the opening segments of Clinton's and McCain's speeches (ex. 3.07 and ex. 3.08, respectively). This can be exacerbated when the design of the speaker's turn provides a window of opportunity for the eager-to-respond audience members. When this happens, just as we saw in the previous section, the speaker can take measures to stop the response before it takes off. Take for example the moment immediately following Clinton's difficult start (ex. 3.07). After the audience finally settles

[134] And as previously mentioned (and as in the next chapter), this can have implications not only for the exchange but also for outside the occasion (e.g., media coverage, impressions or perceptions of the candidate/campaign, etc.).

down, Clinton begins. When she reaches a possible completion to her very first TCU (at lines 05-07), some of the audience begin to cheer. She uses a combination of tactics to stop the early response before it can reach maximum intensity – including gestures that indicate it is not (yet) the time for their response (at lines 09-10).

[ex. 3.16] "People — Not now" ~ H. Clinton
Feb 05, 2008 — New York, NY (Super Tuesday)

```
01    AUD:     [CHEERS
02    HCl:     [Thank you very much.=You know, (0.8)
03             tonight, we ar:e hearing, the voices, of
04             people across America.=
05             =[.mthh pe[op[l:e {o:f (0.2) {ALL [A:GES?  ]
06    Aud:     =[•yeah:::[!•                              |
07    Aud:      |-(1.0)-|[•w[oO::::•                  (1.9)
08    AUD:                  [chEE{RS--------{----[cheers= |
09    HCl:  ->                   {shakes head             |
10          ->                              {extends arm/ |
              ->                             hand out,    |
                                             as in "stop" ]
11    AUD:     =cheers-----[------[clapping----------]=
12    HCl:      (1.0) .hhh [(1.0) [of all colors, all]
```

Clinton declares that "we are hearing the voices of people across America,' (at lines 03-04). Given that this speech is following a multi-state primary election, it could be construed as a political message: that 'the people have spoken' (a "public declaration/proclamation" regarding a possible victory)[135]. The audience responds to this point. A few audience

[135] Though Hillary did not win (the popular vote), at the time of the speech it was still a close race. Several states had not yet reported final numbers but Clinton had a significant amount

members whoop and cheer which soon grows into to cheers from the general audience (at lines 06-08). Almost immediately, while continuing with her speech, Clinton shakes her head and extends her arm/hand out – in a "stop" position[136] (at lines 09–10) – as seen below in figures 3.4a, 3.4b, and 3.4c:

Figure 3.4a Sen. Hillary Clinton, as she begins to shake her head when the audience responds prematurely.

of votes. Hillary ended up winning near the same amount of electoral votes as Obama while receiving more popular votes.

[136] Although at "full extension" her hand is off-screen (so that we cannot see her hand; figure 3.4c), we can see through a slow motion frame-by-frame viewing that her hand is indeed fully open as she begins to extend her arm and just before it goes off camera – figure 3.4b) so it is safe to assume it lands in a "stop" position.

Figure 3.4b Sen. Hillary Clinton, as she shakes her head and begins to raise her arm to signal 'stop' when the audience responds prematurely.

Figure 3.4c Sen. Hillary Clinton, as she shakes her head and extends her arm out to signal 'stop' when the audience responds prematurely

This treatment – the combination of gestures and the continuation of her speech – indicates that her "people across America" was designed to be 'introductory' (as a headline/puzzle):

"people across America" – *what people?* "People of all ages, of all colors…" (lines 05/12). But this is the very thing that is problematic, and for several reasons. First, its initial construction shows no indication that immediately following will be an explication of who those "people (across America)" are. Second, the initial portions of the unit are all produced with a raising intonation (or "continuing" intonation: "You know, tonight, we are hearing, the voices," at lines 02-03), while the [grammatical] unit is finished with a downward (or 'final') intonation ("…people across America." at line 04), which *could* indicate completion. And finally, in terms of its message, this 'declaration' *is* the applaudable element (people celebrating their choice – *her* victory). It is also a reference [to persons/group] with which the most can identify – and therefore 'cheer' (as opposed to the smaller sub-groups of "those on the day shift, the night shift, late shift with the crying baby…" she later unpacks). So it having it come *first* in this package [of units] creates a problem – especially since it is not apparent by its 'introduction' that it is a package of more than one unit. So as soon as a portion of the audience recognizes something for them to cheer for, and (as previously mentioned) as they are primed and ready to respond, so they do.

But notice that the response from the audience reflects that at least a good portion of of them sees it the other way. The response begins immediately but only from a small segment of the audience (at line 06), rather than the typical 'burst' from a large portion of the audience. This indicates that most see this as not yet complete (and therefore not transition relevant). In fact, the response more resembles the 'mutual-monitoring-type' trajectory with the screams slowly gaining more traction as she takes an extended in breath (at line 05) before continuing with the unit. This moment provides the space for more audience members to register this as a possible moment to cheer; and more do in fact join in (at line 07). It may not be the entire audience responding, but it is enough of them for the speaker to address it. So she starts the next unit in overlap with those early responses, producing it with some voice modulation. This suggests some element of turn competition (c.f., Jefferson, 1984 and 2004(1975); Schegloff, 2000), but the non-verbal signal indicates this effort is [also] a pre-emptive attempt at resuming (i.e., they should 'hold off' responding

at the non-TRP). As a result, the audience's response immediately begins to drop off (at lines 08/10).

This issue of when an audience should respond (or not), however, is quite ubiquitous – it is not simply limited to the starts of speeches. While speakers [also] deal with structural issues at speech beginnings, the bodies of speeches – with the turn-taking system well under way – give us a better view of how it is that the design of the speaker's turn can be problematic for the audience's response. This is in part the very reason, as previous research points out, for the use of rhetorical devices to aid in the coordination of responses. However, it is also the use of these devices that can create the problem – especially in complex combinations. Although combinations have the highest potential pay-off, they are also the riskiest. They can instead become problematic when it is unclear by the design of the unit that more is on the way next. These are units that 'turn out to be combinations' because in retrospect (i.e., post-production of the unit rather than a turn design or construction that foreshadows) it is revealed that these were in fact connected or part of a larger. As a result, audiences can 'burst' too soon[137].

When this happens, speakers similarly have a range of resources to contend with the encroaching responses; what Jefferson (2004) calls 'within-utterance segment adjustments' and Schegloff (2000) calls "hitches and perturbations." Take for example the following instance from Hillary's rally following the Iowa caucus. When she delivers what turns out to be a series of three 'if/then' units, the audience bursts with cheers at (rather than moderately responds to) each sub-unit (at starred lines 07, 14, 20/22). She treats these responses as encroaching (as opposed to calibrated responses) by continuing her speech

[137] This, however, raises an initial inquiry into why this is not or how these might differ from combinations that get calibrated responses; and why speakers would compete for the turn rather than allow the audience to respond with a calibrated level of cheers. Although this, among other related issues, gets picked up later in this chapter and in Chapters 5 (in the discussion on 'charisma' and 'future research') initial analysis suggests that when an initial unit of a compound/combination of units gets a burst of cheers/applause, then final component (the one designed for the response) does not get it – or gets a diminished version.

with a minimal break between the units, speaking in overlap using various voice modulations (at lines 08 and 15).

[ex. 3.17] "AND IF YOU ARE…" ~ H. Clinton
Jan 03, 2008 – Des Moines, IA (Iowa Caucus)

```
01    HCl:          [.mt:=.hh! (0.6) if you're concerned
02                  about- (0.7) whether or not, (.) we can have
03                  quality affordable health care for every
04                  American, (.) .mthh [(0.2)=then I'm your
05    A/m:                  |- (0.9) -|[woo:!=
06    HCl:          candidate.
07    AUD:     *    c h E[ERS------------[((faint))cheers--]
                  |(0.3)|-    (1.1)    -|-     (0.6)     -|
08    HCl:   ->         [And if you're:e [concer:ned, (0.2)]
09                  about whether: we can have an energy
10                  policy:,=thet will .h br:eak the shackles of
11                  our dependence on foreign oi:l,=an' .h set
12                  for:th a (.) new: set of goals for us to
13                  meet together then I'm your candidate. (.)
14    AUD:     *    [cheERS------------------[clapping---------]
                    |-        (1.0)         -|-     (0.4)     -|
15    HCl: ->> [And if you ARE WORRIED, [.hh! ABOUT, (0.2)]
16                  once and for all: taking on global warming,
17                  .hh making it clear: that we will e:n:d=the
18                  unfunded mandate known as No Child Left
```

Hillary produces an 'if/then' structured puzzle-solution set and the audience responds on cue (at lines 01–07). However, just as it begins, Hillary starts a next unit in overlap (line 08). This next unit turns out to be a similarly formed unit ('if/then' structured puzzle-solution,

lines 08–13). The very same thing happens with this one: the audience cheers (at line 14), but Hillary begins another unit, with the same grammatical start (at line 15). By immediately continuing in overlap while stretching some portions (at arrowed line 08) and raising her volume during another (at double-arrowed line 14), she treats those cheers as premature. This indicates that the three sets were designed to be one complex unit. However, rather than a series of puzzles with one solution ("if…, if…, and if… then I'm your candidate."), this combination is delivered as three sets of separate puzzles and solutions ("if/then" lines 01-06, 08-13, and 15-18). There is no indication in the design of the first 'if/then' pair that another – let alone two more – will follow. So Hillary must then do some extra work so that the audience drops out immediately. Notice that both responses drop off in the time that a typical response would 'burst' and then *start* to plateau – under 2.0 seconds).

But there is a point at which 'heading off' the response is no longer an option[138] – a point where the audience's response builds just enough so that other methods are needed. One option is for speakers to halt the production of their speech – literally "pausing" while some of the audience cheers or applauds. A speaker can *show* herself to be 'waiting' (that her turn is "on hold") until the mutually monitoring responses settle down in order for her continue. For example, during McCain's rally following the New Hampshire Primary, he encounters some premature screaming at a grammatically complete unit. It comes as he takes an in-breath preparing for the next unit – at which point he "holds" his position: he holds [his posture] still and his mouth remains open (at line 07). Once the cheers stop gaining traction he continues (at line 13).

[138] This includes moments where a small portion of the audience responds (also with a mutual monitoring type of response), and despite continuing briefly with the next unit (which indicates the moment was not designed for response), the speaker drops out. These are not included in this section because the speaker in allowing them to go ahead the speaker does not *treat* them as problematic. However, it is possible that the speakers can treat the moment as non-problematic, but can encourage it [to develop more], thereby treating the composition of the response (the 'lagging') to be the issue rather than the timing. This issue will be addressed in the very next section.

[ex. 3.18] “(Not yet) And when they asked” ~ J. McCain

Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua NH (New Hampshire Primary)

```
01    McC:           [WHEN THE PUNDINTS:, [when the
02                 pundints declared us finished I told
03                 them:, .mt .h (.) “I’m going to New
04                 Hampshire, where the voters don't let
05    McC:  -> [you make their decision for
06    A/m:       [woo:::::!
07    McC:       th[em." .m[t(.hhh) {“holds” posture,
                        |-  (1.0)  -| holds mouth open}=
                                     |-     (2.6)     -|
08    A/m:         [That’s [right!
09    AUD:                 [cheeRS/A{PPLAUSE----cheers}=
                                |-  (1.1)  -|
10                 =[cheers-------][clapping--------------]=
11    McC:  ->  [And when they][a:[s:ked, (.) "how you]=
12    A/m:                           [woo!
13    McC:       =[gonna do it,] You’re down in the
14    Aud:       =[clapping----]
15                 p(h)olls,=You don't have the money”=I
16                 answered, .hh "I'm going to New
17                 Hampshire, .h and I'm going to tell people
28                 the tru::th:."
29    A/m:       YE[AH:::
20    AUD:         [ R O A R / APPLAUSE ] [clapping
21    McC:         |--     ((8.0))    --| [We came back here
```

While recounting the campaign's comeback[139], McCain compliments the audience [New Hampshire] for not listening to the critics (lines 04-07). Although vague in its connection (go to New Hampshire *and do what*?) and therefore projecting more to come, some of the audience respond to the compliment. They cheer just as McCain gears up for the next unit (at lines 08–10). McCain in turn 'holds' and waits – literally. As the response slowly gains momentum, he stands with his posture completely still and his mouth agape for over two seconds. This signals to the audience that there is more to come, visibly showing that he his "holding" for more. This discourages more audience members from joining in the mutually monitoring cheers. Notice that – similar to the response (in ex. 3.17 just prior) – the audience almost immediately drops out (without a 'plateau' at line 09).

Another option is for speakers to repeat or recycle the [next] turn beginnings to indicate there is more to their turn[140]. For example, in this next excerpt President Bill Clinton is speaking at a rally for Hillary in Iowa. When he completes a lengthy and complex unit that first lists a series of failures of America's foreign policy (lines 01–24), he declares that the policies need to be reversed. Although he continues (with what those policies in fact should be), the audience begins to cheer. As he waits out some of the applauding, he repeats the first line of his very next unit, which signals to the audience that there is more to his point.

```
[ex. 3.19]  "We have to say..." ~ B. Clinton (simplified)
            Dec 10, 2007 (Rally, University of Iowa, Iowa)

01    Bil:     .mt The third great challenge we face, (.)
02             .h is living in an interdependent world,
03             where we don't think like interdependent
```

[139] When McCain came in a dismal fourth during the Iowa Caucus (the first primary of the season), experts began debating the campaign's end. However, after five days of fierce campaigning (see Healy and Cooper, 2008), McCain had a strong showing in the New Hampshire primary – ultimately winning almost 40% of the vote (7 electoral votes).

[140] Generally similar to what Jefferson (2004) calls 'segment adjustments,' where speakers make minor changes to segments of their talk; however in this particular instance each in each of the three attempts the speaker repeats the starts almost identically (with the exception of the slight "w- we have…" at line 29).

```
04              people. (0.2) .mhht 'n=what do I mean by
05              that. .h Look at America's foreign
06              policy.=Is=niss- not just a question of the
07              Iraq war, (0.2) .hh=.hh Yes we need to end
08              the Iraq war, but, (.) think of what else
09              we've done. .hh We refused to sign the
10              climate change treaty,=we refused to sign
11              the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty,
12              .hh we walked away from nuclear non-
13              proliferation,=we walked away from the
14              international criminal court, .hh we
15              basically said to the world .hh we are going
16              to act alone whenever we can .hh and then
17              we'll cooperate when we have to. (2.7) .mt
18              we also were a little quick on thuhh
19              trigger(hh). We didn't let the UN inspectors
20              finish in Iraq, we went to war instead. 'n
21              people got the idea .hh that whenever we
22              could use force we would, and then we'd use
23              diplomacy, .h if there was no other
24              alternative. .hh we have to reverse those
25              priorit[ies.=We [have to [say:,
26    A/m:              [clap
27    Aud:                      [clapping[applaUSE-[------]=
28                                                 [cheers]
                              |-    (0.6)    -|(0.2)|(0.9)|
29    AUD:      =[APPLAUSE[-------------------------------]=
30    Bil:  ->   |-(0.2)-|[w- we have to say to the world,]
31    AUD:      =[APPLAUSE-[{------appl{ause-----------}=
```

32 Bil: *-> |- (1.6) -|[{*clasps hands together*

33 .mt={*mouth stays opens*

|- (1.1) -| {*extends hand out*}

34 Bil: -> [we have [to say to the world, (0.8)]

35 AUD: [--------[clapping-----------------]

36 Bil: America realizes thet we can solve almost no

37 problem all by ourselves. (0.6) .hh That

38 we're going to cooperate whenever we can and

39 act alone only when we're forced to, .h

40 we're going to have diplomacy and try to

41 make a world with more partners and fewer

42 terrorists whenever we can .hh and military

43 force will be an absolute. .h <last.

44 resort.>

45 A/m: (ri[::ght)

46 Bil: [that has=[to be our message=[to the

47 Aud: =[clapping---------=[cheers

After listing out a series of decisions made (at lines 04–24), Clinton then criticizes America's foreign policy ("we have to reverse those priorities" – at lines 24–25). Instead of treating it as a 'puzzle' or problem that needs completion ("which ones? – Reverse them how and *to what*?"), a portion of the audience treats this as a having taken a position, as a summary (at lines 04–24), and starts clapping (at lines 24/25). One way we know Clinton did not design this to be transition relevant is his rush through to the very next unit (the latched "priorities.=We have to…" at line 25)[141]. This shows the speaker did not plan for the

[141] Although unlikely it is the reason or the cause for the latch, it should be noted that a lone A/m claps just prior to completion (on the last beat of "priorit[ies." At lines 25–26); unlikely that Clinton could have reacted that quickly to the lone 'clap' so as to latch almost immediately However, given his standing as a great orator/speaker, even if we entertain the notion, it still only underscores that this unit was intended to move forward to the next – and not designed for a response at this moment.

audience to respond [here]. So when the audience prematurely responds, notice that Clinton does not immediately drop out; rather, he continues his next unit to a point where grammatically it indicates more is on its way [before a response would be due]. He gets out an entire "We have to say…" (at line 25) before halting speech production. These multiple attempts (including subsequent ones at lines 29 and 33), as Jefferson (2004) puts it, are a request for the turn space (p. 49) so that Clinton can say "the thing that needs to be said."

Though Clinton is not quite as 'successful' in resolving the premature response compared to previous examples (as the multiple attempts and the subsequent addition of non-verbal cues suggests), the varied outcome only supports the argument that the outcomes are negotiated moment-by-moment rather than pre-determined by a particular or fixed rule set (Jefferson, 1984, 2004; Schegloff, 2000). Deploying a particular method to deal with problematic responses does not guarantee a favorable outcome. However, determining 'success' or 'failure' in this situation – whether the audience drops out once overlap begins – is further complicated by the fact that this is yet another situation that speakers can exploit. As Atkinson points out, charismatic speakers can talk in overlap with applause, or "refuse invited applause," thereby creating the impression "that he or his message is so popular with the audience that he is in serious danger of being drowned out by their uncontrollable enthusiasm" (1984a:99). So speakers can exploit this feature of overlap competition to *appear* in competition.

'Refusing invited applause' refers to moments where the design of the turn indicates transition relevance (hence, "invited"), but despite encountering the applause the speaker continues. Take for example this moment during a rally to announce Obama's candidacy [for President]. After a very complex combination, Obama takes a [collective] stance: he "sets them up" (lines 01–14) then "knocks them down" (lines 16–17). The audience responds with a burst of cheers (line 18). However, after only just over a second, he then continues to speak in overlap with those cheers (at lines 18–25; overlapping for almost 10 seconds); all the while the audience is cheering along, 'bursting' at the appropriate [subsequent] completions (at lines 20/21 and 25/26).

[ex. 3.20] “It’s time” ~ B. Obama

Feb. 10, 2007 — Springfield, IL (Announce-Rally)

01 Oba: [AND AS PEOPLE HAVE LOOKED AWAY:-,] in
02 disillusionment, and frustration, (0.8) we
03 know what's filled the void¿ (1.0) The
04 cynics, (0.6) the lobbyists, the special
05 interests, (0.4) who've turned our
06 government into a game only they can afford
07 to play¿ (0.9) They write the checks and you
08 get stuck with the bill¿
09 Aud: yeah/right ((*mild shouts*)) (1.3)
10 Oba: they get-, (0.2) the access, while you get
11 to write a letter¿
12 A/ms: yea:h::[: ((*very mild*))
13 Oba: |(0.9)|[they think they o:wn this
14 government,
15 A/ms: yea::[h- ((*very mild*))
16 Oba: (0.4)[but w'r:e here today:, to take it
17 back.]

18 AUD: chEERS---[----------[cheers-----]= |
19 Oba: |-(1.1)-|[THE TI:ME, (0.7) for that]= (9.9)

20 AUD =[cheers-----------------[CHE[Ers--]= |
21 Oba: =[kind’a politics is.=over.[(.)[It is]= |

22 AUD: =[cheers----------------------------]= |
23 Oba: =[through. (.) It’s ti:me, to turn the]= |

24 AUD: =[cheers-------------------------------] |
25 Oba: =[pa:ge. (.) Right her:e, and right now.]]

```
26    AUD:     =cheERS---------------------------------=
                |-                (8.0)                -|

27             =cheers--[----[-------------------------]
28    Aud:      |(1.1)| [O. b[a. ma! (.) O. ba. ma. (.)]
29    Oba:      |-  (1.5)  -|[Now=look.

30    Aud:     O. [ba. [ma. [(.) O. BA. MA. (.) O. BA.
31                  [O.  [ba. [ma.
```

Obama leads the audience through [a complex combination of] some of the issues with the current state of our political system. He first 'sets up' the problem: what has filled the void as people turn away (line 03)? The 'knock-them-down/solution' is itself a 3-part list of contrasts (checks/bill, lines 07–08; access/letter, lines 10–11; and they think/we're here, lines 13–17) – the first two getting a very low-volume (calibrated) agreement (lines 09 and 13). The third contrast delivers the final blow ("they think/but we're here…" lines 13–17), getting an immediate burst of cheers (at line 18). However, while this response is still at its peak (before it even begins to plateau let alone started to trail off) Obama begins another unit (lines 19/21). Although the audience does not stop the response entirely, notice that they are indeed responsive. As Obama begins the unit, the response settles slightly (at line 18), and when he completes the unit it bursts again (at line 20). This then happens again (at lines 21–26). The entire time (almost 10 seconds) Obama and the audience are incomplete overlap – despite the speaker's invitation for the applause (i.e., the speaker should hold off his next), despite the speaker continuing with a next unit (i.e., the audience should hold off their turn).

In other words, this gives the *appearance* that the audience is responding prematurely and is so motivated to respond – so intent on giving their approval or agreement – that they are violating the speaker's turn space (speaker has begun; thus, violating the "one at a time") and do not care. As Jefferson would put it, continuation in the

face of overlap can be an indication of a 'declination to relinquish' [the turn] (2004:49). Here, the audience – despite the speaker having started up again – is refusing to stop. However, though it has been suggested [by critics and pundits], this is *not* to say that this manipulation but rather a basic skill of orators. As Atkinson puts it, there are many basic techniques widely used by all politicians for eliciting favorable (ibid) responses, but outstanding orators have the ability to use them in quick succession, and to combine a variety of them with other carefully coordinated signals in producing an invitation to applaud. This is merely "another important weapon in their amoury" (1984a:121).

Although these can prove to be very fruitful, if one is not careful, it can have the opposite effect. The design of the speaker's turn – instead of corralling the response, making it clear a response is relevant next (or soon) – can cloud the audience's judgment, producing a less-than-ideal response; where following a unit that is clearly designed for a response, the audience produces a mutually monitored type (lags, slow build) rather than an independently arrived at collective 'burst' of cheers and applause.

3.3.2 A LACKLUSTER RESPONSE: THE AUDIENCE LAGS

In this section we begin to examine how some features of the speaker's turn might have the opposite effect of causing problems for the potential response rather than facilitating it, and what – if anything – speakers can do to deal with the less-than-ideal response.

Before we begin, however, it should be noted that it is difficult to determine without a doubt that a speaker anticipated a particular response at a particular moment but that the unit or delivery of the unit somehow failed to elicit it[142]. As previously mentioned, a 'less than a burst' response is problematic because the response is the "barometer of appeal" for

[142] This is a very complex issue, one whose components would be hard-pressed to examine entirely, let alone full addressed in one section of this chapter. For example, who is to say that some unit 'failed to get a full response' rather than 'succeeded at getting an unanticipated calibrated response'? How do we know a speaker "pursued" a response as opposed to delivered a well-constructed line? Some additional factors [other than simply turn design] will be addressed in the following chapter (Chapter 4, Action), while we take some more of it up when we discuss "future research" (Chapter 5). A more in-depth analysis is needed, but we will at least begin that endeavor here.

a politician and her ideas. Additionally, because speakers actively attempt to avoid less than ideal responses, most speakers will continue in ways to avoid having these moments noticed (e.g., continue in overlap).

These moments can be especially tricky when the design of the speaker's turn has made it difficult to ascertain that it was indeed a place prepared for a response. In other words, if the design of the turn does not transition was relevant, and the audience does not respond or the response begins from a only few people (a mutually monitoring type – as in excerpts 3.16–3.19), and the speaker continues (or attempts to speak over the low-level response so as to indicate it was 'uninvited'), how can anyone – especially analysts – know it was designed for a response?

One way we can begin is by using what we know about the Speaker's behavior/s when a place has been prepared for audience response, and the audience responds on cue. Recall excerpts 3.01, 3.02, and 3.03 (in section 3.1), where upon completion of the unit/s, each speaker waits for the audience's response to finish; what we call "basking" in the response. This basking is especially evident when comparing it to the un-anticipated moments (e.g., prematurely responding). Recall in excerpts 3.16 through 3.19 (in section 3.3.2) when speakers instead continue with a next unit, in some respects competing for the turn, rather than basking. So, now, here is one *place* to start looking for issues with the speaker's turn-design: where her behavior upon completion [rather than the design of the unit] indicates it was designed for a burst, but is instead met with a mediocre response. We can then look back on that turn to identify what elements were perhaps problematic. Take for example McCain's speech during a rally in Louisiana. When McCain "sets up" the problem with his opponent's outlook (lines 01–04), his 'knock-them-down' unit is literally a 'knock' (criticism) on the opponent (lines 07–09). Upon completion, he does not continue with a next unit despite the lack of [significant] response from the audience (mere chuckles for half a second at line 10). Instead he basks – holding still while grinning widely, apparently in anticipation of a response. However, it takes the audience over a second

before they [as a group] start clapping (at line 12), and almost two seconds before they start cheering (at lines 13/14) – and yet he continues to hold.

[ex. 3.21] "Failed ideas" (simplified) ~ J. McCain
June 03, 2008 – Kenner, LA (Rally)

```
01    McC:    .hhh The wrong change looks not to the
02            future, but to the past for solutions
03            that have failed us before, and will
04            surely fail us again. .mthh You know, I
05            have a few years on my opponent,
06    Aud:    [chuckl{es-------}[---
07    McC:    [.mhhh {((grins))}[so I'm surprised thet a
08            young man has bought in to so many failed
09            ideas. ((bi{g grin))----------------------
10    Aud:          |(.)|{chuckl[es/murmurs--
11    A/m:          |-  (0.5) -|[clap-clap[clap--
12    Aud           |-       (1.1)      -|[clapp[ing--
13    Aud:          |-         (1.7)          -|[yeah::]=
14    AUD:    ={chEERS/APPLAUSE---cheers/applause--------=
15    McC:    ={((big grin))---{--------{((grin))
16                             {turns, faces center/camera
              |-   (1.9)    -|- (1.1)|
17    AUD:    =a[pplause-[-------------[-----------
18    Aud:      [ooo:::h=[woah::::
19    McC:                           [Like others before
```

McCain proposes that his opponent looks to the past [failures] for solutions, setting up a puzzle: "*then what should he look to*?" (he "sets-him-up" at lines 01–04). This projects that what will follow is a proposal of what he/we could instead be looking towards (i.e., the

solution/s; the "knock-him-down" portion). However, the unit immediately following is a self-deprecating remark (a laughable/joke, at lines 04–05). We know from Chapter 2 these are typically followed by a contrasting, more serious, second part – which in this context would then incorporate both of those first-components (perhaps something like "but take it from me/experience, *we should…*"). This one, however, is followed by a criticism of Obama's belief in such ideas ("…so I'm surprised…") rather than a contrast; which in some ways implies the unit is not yet complete. Complicating matters is the fact that immediately following the remark, in awaiting the response (i.e., not continuing with the next unit) McCain concludes by standing there with a very wide grin (as seen below in figure 3.5):

Figure 3.5 Sen. John McCain waits for the response: He stands and holds a big grin; it comes immediately upon completion of his criticism rather than in response to the audience's response.

So, is this [still part of] the joke – so is there still another unit on its way? This leaves doubt as to how and whether the audience is should respond, but his long-held grin and motionless stance leave no doubt that *some* response was or is expected. This shows in their actual response: some chuckle, and most do not respond in any way for over a full

second; it takes almost two seconds before some start to cheer/applaud (at lines 12–13). Then, while McCain holds off his next turn while holding his grin, it encourages more begin to cheer and applaud, and the response then begins a slow build up (at lines 13-to-14); the typical trajectory for – as we will see in more detail in the next chapter – a dispreferred mutual monitoring response.

Another way speakers can deal with a lagging response is by encouraging it – making room for and agreeing with the response. Take for example the moments following Hillary's difficult start at her Super Tuesday rally (ex. 3.07 "Trouble starting" and 3.16 "Not now"). After Hillary finishes unraveling who "people across America" entails, she summarizes with a contrast (at lines 12/14). When – in the (0.5) seconds it takes for her in-breath – only one audience member cheers, she begins the next unit (at lines 15–16). However, some more begin to cheer (but not yet a 'burst'; at line 18) so she cuts off her turn and raises her eyebrows as she begins to nod – eight nods in all (at line 20). This encouraging move prompts more to respond. As the cheers begin to pick up, it reaches its peak or maximum intensity within one second.

[ex. 3.22] "All Those Who..." ~ H. Clinton
Feb 05, 2008 — New York, NY (Super Tuesday)

01	HCl:	[of all colors, all fai]ths, and all walks
02		of life. [.*h* people on the day shift, the
03	A/m:	[( )
04	HCl:	night shift, [.*h* the late shift.=with the
05	A/m:	[( )
06	HCl:	crying baby. .*mt*!=[.*hh*, mo]ms and dads who
07	A/m:	=[( )]
08	HCl:	want a better world for our children. .*mt*!=
09		=.*hh* young people who deserve a world of
10		opportunity.

```
11    A/m:      YEAH!=
12    HCl:      =all tho[:se who aren't in the headlines,
13    A/m:               [woo!
14    HCl:   -> but have always written America's story.
15           -> [.mt=.hh =[After-,(.)[
16    A/m:    * [ w o o !=           |
17    A/m:      |(-0.5)-|=[woo::!    |
18    AUD:   ->           =[cheers----{----[APPLAUSE/CHEERS]
                            |((very low|slow|))
                            |-((1.0))-|(1.1)|-   ((5.0))   -|
19    HCl: ->>                        {raises eyebrows,
20         ->>                        {nods, 8 times total
21    HCl:      [AFTER:,=SEVen year:s, of] a president who
```

As with most others, this moment is debatable as to whether "… always written America's story" was designedly transition relevant. However, we can note that from a design perspective, it would have made sense had the audience responded with a burst of applause: listing out several different categories, and then summarizing with a contrast – one that celebrates the audience for their unrecognized accomplishments (lines 12/14). But the moments just prior (ex. 3.07) complicate matters. Hillary had just previously admonished the audience for their encroachment on her turn. Here is one possibility for why such moves are rare: it may be that as a result the audience is a bit more reserved in when to respond. Regardless, some respond – albeit low and slow (lines 16–18). Hillary then deals with the (1.0) second of a less than explosive burst of applause/cheering (line 18) by encouraging it. Stopping her speech and nodding in approval amounts to agreeing that the sentiment is worthy of applause; it encourages the response. As a result, the mild cheers turn to much louder applause and cheers (at line 18).

As this instance highlights, often times these turn-design issues can have an impact on the larger unit a speaker may be trying to deliver, where structural and design issues can converge. The most obvious of these is the closing of the speech. This is the moment when all of the features described in this chapter culminate in a trifecta moment of completion: where a unit (or set of units), the speech, and the overall structure of the occasion all come to an end at the same time – therefore, ideally, eliciting the loudest response. So when there is an issue with the design of the speaker's turn, it can be especially problematic. Structurally speaking, this is where the speech moves from the 'body' of the speech to the close; specifically, where the audience is *led* to the closing portion of the speech through the design of the speaker's turns. Issues with that could lead to a series of 'bursts' rather than one large – if not thee loudest of the occasion – final burst.

As this instance highlights, often times these turn-design issues can have an impact on the larger unit a speaker may be trying to deliver, where structural and design issues can converge. The most obvious of these is the closing of the speech. This is the moment when all of the features described in this chapter culminate in a moment of completion: That is, where the possible completion of a unit (often, as part of a set of such units), the speech, and the event as a whole, converge in a single transition relevance place. Ideally, the convergence of these various forms of unit completion should generate the loudest cheers of the event. This also makes the possible completion of such speech-final-units the most important (and potentially most problematic) of the occasion. Structurally speaking, this is where the speaker leads the audience through a transition from the 'body' of the speech to its conclusion. Such transitions, and the final rhetorical flourishes used to compose them, are often conveyed through a series of units that built to a final one. Depending on how well speakers navigate such transitions, they can lead audiences into producing a series of small 'bursts' of applause rather than a single large (and ideally the loudest) burst of applause to conclude the event.

For example, when McCain closes his rally speech in Nashua, New Hampshire he runs into several issues. Most notably, while the audience produces bursts of cheers (and

chants) at unexpected places, in the places that McCain has prepared responses the audiences responses are delayed. The audience cheer and chant (at lines 06–14) to a unit designed as a digression of what turns out to be initial component of a series of units[143] (at lines 01–18). Following this (and perhaps as a consequence of it[144]), the audience's response to his possible completion (at line 18) is substantially delayed (at line 21). Another cheer-and-chant comes in response to what appears to be a closing reference (at lines 32/24–36). After gesturing for the audience to quiet down, McCain then continues with another very long unit that turns out to be connected to the prior one. Without a rhetorical structure that projects which of the in-progress units is designed to be a final one, the audience's response to McCain's possible completions (at "true to it", and then "so help me god", line 65) is again slightly delayed and takes some time to build to full strength (at lines 66–69). Once it does, however, McCain begins yet another unit that projects closing (this time by "thanking" the audience). As before, however, McCain stitches together several units that only cohere in retrospect. As a result, McCain works through several attempts to come to completion as audience members yell out in a bout of disorganized, mutually monitored verbalizations (at lines 70–96). Ultimately, this all has an impact on his delivery of – and the corresponding response to – the final, closing, unit. When McCain delivers the final closing unit, it gets a small burst of cheers (at line 99) but in terms of both the volume and length of time this response is considerably diminished when compared to the cheers and chants his earlier units attracted.

---

[143] Here "series of units" is in reference to clauses or sentences that are connected grammatically ("and…," "but…," etc.), as opposed to "a combination of units" that is constructed and connected by several rhetorical devices.

[144] Recall in footnote 33 that future research will pick up this notion that premature bursts (to an initial unit of a compound structure) can negatively impact the response to the final component. Here is another such instance. However, this one is slightly different and more complicated as it will become apparent that the design of the 'final' component is problematic.

[ex. 3.23] “Trouble Closing” ~ J. McCain

Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua, NH (Rally)

```
01  McC:   [And however:, (0.5) ho]wever this campaign
02         turns out,=an'=I am more confident tonight,
03         that it will turn out much better [than once
04  A/m:                                     [clap-clap
05  McC:   [expected=
06  AUD:   [cheers--=ROAR----------------------------
                    |-          (7.1)           -|
07                  |-  (5.7)  -|•mac. is. back.• (.)
08         mac. is. back. (.) MAC. IS. BACK. (.) MAC.
09         IS. BACK. (.) MAC. IS. BACK. (.) MAC. IS.
10         BACK. (.) MAC. {IS.   BACK.={(.) {MAC. IS.
11  McC:                  {raises arm--{hand extends up,
                                        palm facing out
                                        (as in "stop")
12         BACK. (.) MAC. [is. ba[ck. (.) °mac.]
13  A/m:                  [(    )[JOH:::::::::N]=
14  AUD:   =cheers----------
15         (0.2)
16  McC:   I am grateful. (0.4) beyond re-=expression
17         for the prospect. (0.2) that I might serve
18         her, (0.2) a little while longer.
19         (.)
20  A/m:   woo[:!
21  AUD:      [cheers--CHEERS—cheers-cl[apping--
22  McC:      |-       (3.3)       -|[That gratitude
23         imposes on me the responsibility to do
24         nothing in this campaign:, mhh that would
```

make our country's problems harder to solve.
(.) or that would cause Americans to despair
that a candidate .h for the highest office
in the la:nd .h would think so little of the
honor that he would put his own interests
before theirs.
Aud: ye::a[h:!
McC: [.*hh* I take that responsibility, (0.2)
as my most solemn trust. [.m *h h*]=So
A/m: [>thank you.<]
my frien:ds, (0.3) so my frien:ds, (.) .*hh*
we celebrate one victory tonight, (.) and
leave for Michigan tomorrow, t[o win an[other.
A/m: [woo!
A/m [yeah!
AUD: cheers--CHEERS/APPLAUSE---------cheers------=
|- (13.0) -|
=[applause/some mild cheers---
[°mi. ch. gan!° (.) mi. ch. gan! (.) mi. ch.
gan! (.) mi. ch. gan! (.) MI. CHI. GAN! (.)
MI. CHI. GAN! (.) MI. CHI. GAN! (.) MI. CHI.
GAN! (.) MI. CHI. GAN! (.) MI. CHI. GAN! (.)mi.
ch. {gan! (.) °mi-ch-g[an!°
McC: {*hand lifts off podium* ((*blocked by A/ms' waiving arms, but can assume it was raised to a "stop" gesture*))
A/m: [•we love you!
(.)
A/m: WOO!

50 A/m: =woo::[::.

52 McC: [But-|- (0.5) -|

51 A/m: [clap-clap-clap

53 McC: But let us remember, (.) let us remember, (.)

54 that our purpose is not ours alone. (0.3) Our

55 success:, (0.2) is not an end in itself. .*hh*

56 Am<u>er</u>ica. (.) is our cause, (0.2) yesterday,

57 (0.2) today, (0.2) and tomorrow. .*h* Her

58 greatness is our hope. (0.4) Her str<u>en</u>gth is

59 our protection. .mt*h* her ideal:s. (0.2) our

60 greatest treasure. (0.2) her prosperity, .*hh*

61 the promise we keep to our children. (0.3)

62 her goodness. (0.2) the hope of mank<u>i</u>nd. (.)

63 .mt*h* That is the cause of our campaign, .m*hh*

64 and the platform of my party. .m*hh* and I will

65 stay true to it, (.) so help me God.

66 (.)

67 A/m: >y<u>e</u>ah.<

68 AUD: cheers--CHEERS/APPLAUSE---cheers/applause--=

|- (10.1) -|

69 =cla[pping-----claps---------]

70 McC: [Thank you New Hampshire,] (0.3) Thank you

71 my frie[n d s, (.) =and God] ble[ss you,

72 A/m: [thank [you.=

73 A/m: [( )]

74 A/m: [thank you!=

75 A/m: =( )

76 McC: as [y o u h a v e-

77 A/m: [ble[ss you

78 A/m: [ble[ss you

79 A/m: [bless you

80 A/m: bless y[ou

81 A/m: [bless[

82 McC: [God [bless you=ave you have]=

83 Aud: [murmurs---------------]=

84 =[blessed me.]

85 Aud: =[mur°murs--°]=

86 A/m: =THANK Y[OU JOHN!

87 A/m: [( )!

88 Aud: murmurs/ran{dom-shouts--{-------{----------]

89 McC: {*raises hand up, palm facing out*

90 {*lowers arm/hand*

91 {*lowers face*

92 Aud: =shouts-CHEERS--cheers---c[laps------]

93 A/m: [•Thank you] John!•

94 McC: God ble[ss=you=av=has] ble- as you have

95 A/m: [(!)]

96 McC: blessed me. (0.3) Enjoy this. You have earned

97 it more than me. (0.2) Tomorrow, (.) we begin

98 again.

99 AUD: cheER[S----------

100 MCC: [Thank you. ((*walks away from podium*))

So what happened here? In the initial part of this extract McCain opens a unit alluding to an unsure future for the campaign. In starting it in this way (with "however this campaign turns out…" at lines 01-02), the uncertainty and reference to the future projects that a contrasting, more positive (a more hopeful, silver lining type) unit will follow. However, instead of producing such a unit, McCain inserts an aside (the "and I am…" digresses at line

02) about his confidence level given the event they are currently celebrating (at lines 03/05). This is problematic because it may appear to deliver precisely what was projected next: a 'present' evaluation. The audience cheers and then chants (Mac is back) when he refers back to the comeback New Hampshire gave him[145]. As it turns out, however, this was not the final component of the unit as McCain then expresses his gratitude that he will get to continue "a little while longer" (at line 18). So in retrospect, the 'aside' deflates the response for the second component because the 'applaudable' message had already been registered and responded to by the audience – and may have even created some confusion (as evidenced by the delayed uptake and subdued response (at line 21) that peaks very briefly rather than plateauing). If put together with the 'aside' removed, the unit would have been "however this campaign turns out, I am grateful beyond expression for the prospect that I might serve her a little while longer." When McCain then conveys that this gratitude will lead him to "do better," even the summary conclusion he reaches (at "solemn trust") gets only one audience member that merely says "thank you" (at line 33).

The next unit is even more problematic. After summarizing ("I take that responsibility as my most solemn trust"), McCain begins what appears to be the upshot ("so my friends" at lines 32/24; see Raymond, 2004, on the use of "so" in producing an upshot; see Clayman, 2010, on the use of address terms), he produces a quintessential ending (by projecting future occasion in "on to the next primary/victory" lines 36), which the audience responds to with an eruption of cheers that eventually (after 13.0 seconds) turn into chants (at lines 39–45). Despite this raucous response, further confusion occurs as McCain expands on that conclusion ("but let us remember…"). He adds a long (much more than 'three') list of solemnly delivered ideals that when launched fail to make clear what it will take for this unit to be complete (i.e., when is it time to respond). At the list's completion he again

[145] Recall that (mentioned in footnote 33), McCain had a terrible showing in the Iowa Caucus before turning things around and winning – despite the critics' doubt he would – the New Hampshire Primary. As we will see in the next chapter, McCain actually opens this very speech with a joke referencing his comeback. The audience respond to that joke in the exact same way: they cheer and then chant "Mac is back."

summarizes ("That is the cause of our campaign and the platform of my party"), but this time with a promise on the end ("I will stay true to it, so help me God" at lines 63 – 65). As in the last case, the audience can only grasp that this is the last unit in the multi-unit structure once a bit of silence begins to grow, resulting in yet another delayed response. Although one audience member responds after a micropause ("(.) yeah" at lines 66–67), the audience does not respond for (0.2) (at line 68).

The final [attempt to] closing is an expression of gratitude and blessings – actually, three of them. However, he does not get through his second one ("thank you my friends" at lines 71–72) before several audience members shout out with a chaotic and disorganized series of sporadically overlapping (rather than responding with a singular, cohesive 'set' of) 'return' gratitude and blessings (lines 72–87). At this point McCain has projected 'speech completion' twice, and both times the audience has responded. And yet he has still not *done* 'completion.' He is still at the podium, still in a home-ready-position, and apparently still ready to speak. Having now responded to the last two unit completions as if they were the end of the speech only to find out that they were not, the audience appears to become more reserved at the next possible completions (recall that a similar phenomenon was observed following Hillary's admonishing the audience's encroachment in "people across America"). That could in part account for a shape of the response that suggests a bigger role for mutual monitoring than independent decision-making (i.e., they now rely on others), characterized by shouts that ultimately create problems for a clean delivery of the final closing unit. McCain's "God bless you, as you have blessed me" gets interrupted twice (at line 76 and then at lines 82/84). Even after he relents (at lines 90-91) and the audience cheers (at line 92), the shouts return as he tries to retrieve his prior turn (again "God bless…" at lines 93–96). He then moves to yet another 'closing component' (the "Enjoy this… Tomorrow we begin again") – to which the audience responds with a burst of cheers, but cheers that are noticeably lower than the two previous bursts (that ended in chants; which have been clipped: 3.24-pt 1, 2, and 3, respectively). In failing to use the sort of rhetorical devices (identified by Atkinson, Heritage and Greatbatch, and others) that might

enable the speaker to build the audience's response to a crescendo in the final unit of his speech, McCain complicates the audience's efforts to appreciate him. And as a result, the speech – and the event – ends with a fizz rather than a bang.

This chapter identifies some of the key norms that underpin campaign rallies as an institutional occasion for interaction. As we have also seen, examining the sorts of things that can go wrong in such occasions, and the contingencies participants must manage, can illuminate how participants are oriented to these aspects of the institution in the course of the occasion. Although many of those efforts share some common features with what Jefferson (1984, 2004) and Schegloff (2000) describe in terms of overlap competition for ordinary conversation, the turn taking system used by participants in ordinary conversation distributes opportunities for participation locally, on a turn-by-turn basis (even if the participants may not always view each other has having equal rights to participate). The encounters in campaign rally speeches, however, have a specialized turn taking system that pre-allocates the kinds of actions the participants can produce. And as we have seen, this specialized system has a range of consequences for how members participate, for the forms of competition that can emerge in them, and in the resources participants use to manage such occasions.

When parties make efforts to deal with conduct that departs from this system, the methods they use reflect both the kind of violation or departure that must be managed and its place or position within the occasion. For example, early in the chapter we noted that Hillary's attempt (in ex. 3.07) to initiate talk in overlap with a boisterously cheering audience reflected the place of this overlap within the occasion (at a transition from an introductory speaker to her), and the various positions within that effort, as she moved from thanking the audience (appreciating their applause) to beginning her speech (projecting what will come next). Her displays of readiness and acceptance of the audience's "welcome" were part of an effort to move from the "entrance/welcome" portion of the occasion to the main event – by beginning her speech. Those displays also reflect their sequential position (e.g., at what *would be* the end of the audience's turn and start of hers,

so she uses 'thirds' and repeats of turn initial components). When it comes to delivery of the speech itself, the speaker's methods for dealing with certain contingencies can also reflect their relative positions. For example, speakers can attempt to stop or 'hold off' a response that may be premature relative to an upcoming transition relevance place as they continue to speak, as Hillary does in (ex. 3.07 and ex. 3.16) or they can stop their in-progress turn to do so, as McCain did (in ex. 3.08). Alternatively, speakers can compete to retain their turn when responses come at possible completions that are not transition relevant (ex. 3.17 – 3.19). If those responses are 'individualistic,' speakers continue in overlap; if they are slightly more concerted efforts (by the 'Aud' – *not the audience*) then speakers may use more marked forms of competition, such as repeats or recycled turns [beginnings]. And dealing with troubles that may arise once the turn-taking system has been established (i.e., once the speaker is in the body of the speech) appears to be quite distinct from those forms of trouble that emerge in the beginning of the speech – in part because at the beginning of a speech speakers are attempting to establish a pattern of speaking and responding, whereas in the midst of the speech they are trying to re-establish such a pattern. For example, although speakers can use hand gestures and non-verbal displays to convey that a response is out place (e.g., by attempting to suppress an emerging response before it peaks), they only do so rarely. In fact, such gestures are used primarily at the beginning of speeches[146]; and when they do occur they are typically positioned before the response peaks. So this, then at least opens a discussion of what motivates the effort to continue *despite having already encountered cheers/applause*. We so far have a glimpse: responses (that come at moments not anticipated by the speaker) can have consequences for the larger unit the speaker is aiming for (e.g., McCain's closing), so speakers can make an

[146] Though they do occur when the speaker is attempting to regain the floor following a response that extends beyond the typical 7-8 seconds the audience who has already been cheering for quite some time, as with ex. 3.07. One place they are seen more frequently, however, is when a speaker attempts to regain the floor following an audience's response that extends beyond its typical 7-8 seconds.

effort to suppress ones that are early in order to direct them to – or have calibrate their responses on the way to – the 'big ticket' item.

As we have seen, the contingencies that speakers encounter across these environments must be handled 'in-the-moment.' If that is the case, can we establish a logic by which speakers may decide when to continue speaking, and when to actively manage the overlap – and if managing, whether to suspend talk or engage in various forms of turn-competition. I would argue that the choices that speakers make in these moments are partly constitutive of what separates good speakers from bad ones. That is, in addition to the practices that Atkinson identifies as characteristic of charismatic speakers, how speakers handle these problematic moments can be crucial for how a speech is perceived by the public and covered in the media. If a speaker can manage these moments deftly, she can minimize the impact of them (e.g., in campaign coverage). Similarly, when an audience's response is late or lackluster, most speakers tend press on, sometimes even competing for the turn, so as avoid the appearance of lackluster or lukewarm support from the audience at a place that had otherwise been prepared for a response.

Taken together, these practices and their deployment reflect two key elements of campaign rallies as institutional occasions for interaction. First, they reflect the speakers *heightened entitlement to speak*; by contrast, the audience is entitled to applaud, so long as that collectively organized conduct is invited, and thus warranted, by the speaker's conduct. Of course, as the slow, late or lackluster responses demonstrate, the audience does have some latitude in deciding *whether* and *how* the speaker's talk will be appreciated. Second, as the speakers' efforts to manage problematic – and especially late or lackluster – responses suggests, the exchanges between speaker and audience reflects an orientation to the preference for agreement. As we will cover in the next chapter, an orientation to the preference of agreement observed in ordinary conversation is heightened (and enforced) in campaign rally speeches. So how does this work? As we have seen in this chapter, speakers must compose "applaudable messages" – that is, messages that the audience agrees with, and which they can (independently) recognize as ready for appreciation (i.e., recognize as

possibly complete). As we shall consider in the next chapter, however, speakers in campaign rallies can design their messages to make relevant a wider range of responses types (than has been considered in previous research). However, this picture is incomplete without taking other things into consideration. How does this all work? How does this fit with the goals and aims of the occasion, and what does it have to do with the social relations established between politicians and their constituents? In this next chapter we turn our attention to the import of these behaviors by looking at action formation, and the implications the institutional structure has for the social relations that emerge between its participants.

CHAPTER 4 – ACTION FORMATION: Internal Structure and Sequence Organization

As previous chapters make clear, the limitations placed on the participants' conduct primarily relate to how and when parties can contribute to the encounter (Chapter 2, the basic organization). In addition, these limitations are reflected not only in the forms of trouble that can emerge and the methods for dealing with them (Chapter 3, contingencies), but also (as we will see in the following chapter) the sorts of actions they can produce when they do contribute. In addition, Atkinson (1984a, 1084b) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) argue that the attention sought after by politicians comes in the form of applause ("politicians in need of attention" – in need of "appreciation in the usual manner") – but what about the other forms of audience response (as shown in Chapter 2)? And what do these various forms (possibly) tell us about the larger structures at work? How do these have implications for the social relations established? This chapter will expand on the alternative forms of collective appreciation not described previously by Atkinson and Heritage & Greatbatch; forms that enable audiences to engage in a broader range of social actions with the speaker and her message – which then have implications for the social relations established between participants.

This chapter will lay out how these campaign rallies, like the Party Conferences described by Atkinson (1984a; 1984b) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1986), are fundamentally about agreement and affiliation, which – like Clayman (1993) argues – reveals a preference for agreement (and dispreference for disagreement). Speakers compose 'applaudable messages' so that audience members can (independently) recognize when to 'show our appreciation in the usual manner' (Atkinson, 1984a:34); messages that audiences can respond to at a particular [coordinated] moment with agreement. However, closer examination of the sequences [of action] reveal how the goals and aims of the occasion

allow for speakers to design their messages in such a way that makes relevant a wider range of responses than previously considered – where the exchanges are more than [simply] about 'agreement' or 'appreciation.' These more varied exchanges between participants have implications for or bear upon the types of responses from the audience – which impact the social relations. In this next chapter we address these issues by:

(1) Establishing that this environment is fundamentally about agreement/confirmation by: showing that 'applaudable messages' do work here in the way similar to what previous research claims (including examples) but with several exceptions (with examples); showing how these messages demonstrate a preference for agreement – underscored by the ways participants manage trouble ('contingencies' revisited); and by showing that the preference for agreement for this occasion leaves no room for alternatives to agreement – perhaps even an intolerance towards disagreement;

(2) Examining *how* speakers in campaign rallies can design messages to make relevant a wider range of response types; including how speakers can make confirmation relevant [over agreement], initiate more intimate exchanges (e.g., by teasing, complimenting, etc.), and how the order of units matter for these environments (i.e., sequential organization of units); wrapping up by demonstrating the ways in which agreement/affiliation is achieved can be quite different (i.e., appreciation *not* in the usual manner)

(3) Concluding with a discussion and demonstration of the implications that the institutional structure and the different types of actions (and sequences) have for the social relations that are established between politicians and constituents.

4.1 FUNDAMENTALLY ABOUT AGREEMENT AND AFFILIATION

As previous research points out, these speaking events are fundamentally about the pursuit and displays of affiliation (c.f., Atkinson, 1984a; 1984b), support (c.f., Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986), and approval (c.f., Clayman, 1993) in the form of applause or cheers from the audience. Given the potential consequences these responses have for politicians and

their ideas, Aktkinson (1984a) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) also argue that these moments are the result of a narrow range of political messages, or 'applaudable messages' as Atkinson refers to them (1984a:34). Their research points out that certain types of messages are more likely than others to get favorable treatment: (1) favorable references to/approval of us or own party, (2) unfavorable references to/criticism of 'them,' or external attacks; and (3) favorable references to persons/projecting a name. It certainly can work very similarly in campaign rally speeches, for example:

(*FAVORABLE "US"; APPROVE OWN PARTY; ADVOCACY*) The following comes from McCain's South Carolina Primary. McCain attributes part of his reason in seeking the nomination to his belief in the principles of the Republican Party. These boasts amount to compliments that not only show the party in a favorable light but advocate for the party's principles. The audience responds immediately with cheers and applause.

[ex. 4.01] "Our Party" (simplified) ~ J. McCain
Jan 19, 2008 – Charleston, SC (SC Primary)

```
01    McC:     [I seek the nomination of our party, because
02             I am as confident today as I was when I
03             first entered public life as a foot soldier
04             in the Reagan Revolution. .h that the
05             principles of the Republican Party, our
06             confidence in the good sense and
07             resourcefulness of free people are always in
08             America's best interests. In war and peace,
09             in good times and challenging ones, we have
10             always known that the first responsibility
11             of government is to keep this country safe
12             from its enemies, and the American people.
13             free of a heavy handed government that
```

14 spends too much of their money, and tries to
15 do for them what they are better able to do
16 for themselves.
17 AUD: cheERS/APPLAUSE----------

(*UNFAVORABLE REFERENCE TO 'THEM'; EXTERNAL ATTACKS*) During her Super Tuesday rally, Hillary discusses some of the issues currently facing many Americans. She then proposes that the Republicans want things to remain as they are (lines 01–02). After a combination that lists out a series of problems paired with a contrasting mock-response from the Republicans (where "they see *issue X*, they say *why not [more]...*" at lines 14–22), she declares that their time running the government will end on the next inauguration day (lines 22/25–27). The audience responds at its projectable completion with cheers and applause (at lines 28–30).

((previously seen as ex. 2.25))
[ex. 4.02] "Republicans want 8 more" ~ H. Clinton
Feb 5, 2008 – New York, NY (Super Tuesday)

01 HCl: Well, the Republicans want eight more years
02 of the same.=
03 A/m: =([{)
04 AUD: [{b o o : {O O{: {: : :]=
05 [{They see{:-|- (1.8) -|
06 {*raises arms, palms up*
07 {*sweeping nod*
08 {*arms down*
09 {*quick nod*
10 =[O O : :{: : { : : [o o : : :]
11 HCl: =[*.mt!=.h{;holds mouth open*
12 A/m: |[({)!=[

13 HCl: | {*quick headshakes, shrugs,*
| *and flips palms "open"*
| *((as if "I know"/"go figure"))*
14 HCl: |- (1.9) -|=[They see tax] cuts
15 for the wealthy an' they say, "Why not
16 more,"=.h=They see ni:ne tri:llion dollars
17 in debt {(0.4) say, "Why not trillions
18 {*slightly dips then sweeps head,*
with purses lips
19 mo:r:e," .hh They see fi:ve years in Iraq
20 'en say, {(0.3) why: not a HUNdred
21 {*flourishes left arm/hand up;*
shaking head
22 mo[re," .hh we:ll::]
23 AUD: [boo::[::::OO:::::::::oo:[::::::::::::]
|- (3.2) -|
24 AUD: [*chuckles*
25 HCl: |-(2.1)-|[they've go:t]
26 until January twentieth two thousand and
27 nine and not O[NE D[A:Y mo[re.
28 A/m: [woo!
29 A/m: [woo:::!
30 AUD: [cheeRS/APPLAUSE--

(FAVORABLE REFERENCES TO PERSONS/PROJECTING A NAME) The following comes from Obama's speech following the South Dakota and Montana Primaries, the night he secured enough delegates to be the Democratic nominee. After officially declaring he would be the party's nominee, he says expresses his gratitude to several people. When thanking his fellow candidates, among other things he commends them for their service. He commends Hillary

Clinton in particular, listing several attributes and accomplishments. He then concludes this section with a summation that not only projects the unit is coming to completion but that it will be complete with the production of her name. When he produces her name, the audience begins to cheer just at its projectable completion (at line 10).

[ex. 4.03] "Hillary Rodham Clinton" (simplified) ~ B. Obama
June 3, 2008 – Saint Paul, MN

```
01    Oba:     [When we transform our energy policy] and
02             lift our children out of poverty, it will be
03             because she worked to help make it happen.
04    A/m:     woo!=
05    A/m:          =woo!
06    Oba:     Our party and our country are better off
07             because of her, and I am a better better
08             for having had the honor to compete with
09             Hillary Rod[ham Clinton.
10    AUD:                [cheers------CHEERS/APPLAUSE----
```

Now although it certainly *can* work the way previous research suggests, in many ways there are significant differences in the types of political messages delivered in campaign rally speeches. For one, these particular 'applaudable messages' appear with an incredibly lower frequency in campaign rally speeches. As previous research is based on U.K. party conferences, it is to be expected that a majority of the assessments are party focused. But during campaign rally speeches candidates rarely mention other persons (especially by name), and only briefly or incidentally mention [any] 'party'; and when they do, it is typically in relation (or in contrast) to an 'applaudable' that is more focused on themselves as the candidate of choice. For example, take the following references from various candidates during the 2008 primaries:

"Americans are looking for a change. But what they want is a change that starts with a challenge to those of us who are given the sacred trust of office. So that we recognize what our challenge is, is to bring this country back together. To make Americans once again more proud to be Americans than to just be democrats or republicans." – *Huckabee, Des Moines, IA (Jan 3, 2008)*

"I seek the nomination of a party that believes in... ((lists several qualities))" – *McCain, Nashua, NH (Jan 8, 2008)*

"But there are real differences between the candidates. We are looking for more than just a change of party in the White House." – *Obama, Columbia, SC (Jan 8, 2008)*

"You're going to hear Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama and John Edwards saying that they're the party of change, and I think that they would bring change to America, just not the kind that we want." – *Romney, Southfield, MI (Jan 15, 2008)*

"He represents the policies of yesterday. And we want to be the party of tomorrow." – *Obama, Houston, TX (Feb 19, 2008)*

"I congratulate Senator McCain on winning his party's nomination, and I look forward to a spirited and substantive debate with him." – *Hillary, Columbus, OH (Mar 4, 2008)*

"And we have done it by standing up for the deepest principles of our party, with a vision for an America that rewards hard work again, that values the middle class, and helps to make it stronger. With your help, I am ready to go head-to-head with John McCain to put our vision for America." – *Hillary, Charleston, WV (May 13, 2008)*

In other words, any references to party are often not a stand-alone 'appluadable message' (as with party conferences) but rather are incorporated into some other message (not simply "yay party, yay party ideas and ideals" or "nay others, nay others' ideas and ideals"). This is for several reasons. Content-wise, primaries make it very difficult to make it 'our party versus their party' (for the reasons discussed in Chapter 1). Obviously 'favorable references to party' will not do candidates much good in a primary, and 'unfavorable references to the other party' can make it difficult to eventually woo those who might be undecided or alienate those who are voting or are in some way non-partisan (recall "Obamicans"). In

addition, unfavorable references can reflect back poorly on the party especially when they targeting fellow party members (unfavorable him/her) – as it did for the Democratic Party in 2008. Pundits, experts, and even then chairman of the Democratic National Committee Howard Dean cautioned that some of the attacks and negative tones of the campaigns could complicate efforts to unify the party [once a nominee was selected] and more importantly cost them the national election (Nagourney, Healy and Zeleny, 2008).

A second reason the types of applaudable messages in campaign rallies are significantly different is because of the difference in the type of event and the goals for the occasion. The focus is on the individual/candidate, but more importantly the aim is rallying up support for the campaign/candidate, getting the display/s of support from constituents, establish some sort of rapport with the audience/constituents (which we will address throughout this chapter), and attempt to have that translate into social action outside of the occasion (which we will address later in the chapter, and further in Chapter 5). Let us first address how these types [as described by previous research] of messages do not work, and then get to discussing what types *do* work and how.

Negative or 'unfavorable' formulations do not facilitate or promote these aims. On the one hand, they may not directly boost support for the campaign or motivate audience members; or if they do, they motivate audience members in the wrong way and possibly take the campaign [event] in a different direction. For example, during the 2008 national campaign, several critics and pundits noted the increasingly negative tone of the respective campaigns (as previously mentioned), but especially the McCain/Palin campaign events (Pilkington, 2008) – particularly the personal attacks on Obama (Henry and Hornick, 2008). Several times this was evident in the comments by audience members, for example:

- When McCain rhetorically asked, "Who is Obama" one audience member yelled out "terrorist!" – *McCain rally, New Mexico (October 6, 2008)*;

- When Palin accused Obama of criticizing the troops/military, one audience member yelled out "treason!" – *Palin rally, Jacksonville, Florida on October 7, 2008* (Pitney and Colter, 2008);
- The anger even spilling over into the treatment of the press: Palin's references to the NY Times and "liberal media" were constantly met with boos; and a Palin supporter hurled racial epithets at an African American sound technician working an event (Milbank, 2008).

But more locally, the issue of negative or unfavorable messages poses a structural issue: when and how audiences should respond. As even these extreme cases indicate, negative formulations, criticisms, and attacks (etc.) are generally not met with support in the form of applause and cheers; and (as we will see in further detail later in this chapter) though it can be argued that aligning against the opponent is indirectly affiliative with the candidate (the speaker), structurally it poses a problem because the criticism is the most proximate unit the audience will be respond is responding to. But even if it is paired with an assessment it can still pose a problem of how to respond (boo the opposition's position, or cheer for the speaker's 'take' on it?), which can be reflected in the audience's 'conflicted' response. For example, in the following case from McCain's rally in Louisiana, he twice references what Obama wants to do (at starred lines 15 and 31). In both cases there is a severe delay before the audience responds (at arrowed lines 18–21 and 37); and despite the position taken by McCain ("that's not change…" at double-starred lines 34–35) and his wide grin both serving as indicators of transition relevance, only a few audience members respond after a large gap: a mix of sporadic clapping with a mixture of boos and cheers (at double-arrowed lines 38–41):

[ex. 4.04] “That’s not change” (simplified) ~ B. Obama

June 3, 2008 — Kenner, LA (rally)

```
01    McC:     I take America's economic security as
02             seriously as I do her physical security.
03             For eight years the federal government has
04             been on a spending spree that added
05             trillions to the national debt. It spends
06             more and more of your money on programs
07             that have failed again and again to keep
08             up with the changes confronting American
09             families. Extravagant spending on things
10             that are not the business of government
11             indebts us to other nations, fuels
12             inflation, raises interest rates, and
13             encourages irresponsibility. I have
14             opposed wasteful spending by both parties
15           * and the Bush administration. Senator Obama
16             has supported it and proposed more of his
17             own.
18          -> (0.3)
19    McC:     .mhhhhh[h-
20    A/m:  -> |(0.7)|[boo[:
21    AUD:  -> |- (1.0) -|[boo{::OO::::::
22    McC:                      {closes mouth and grins
23    McC:     I want to freeze discretionary spending
24             until we have completed top to bottom
25             reviews of all federal programs to weed
26             out failing ones. Senator Obama opposes
27             that reform. I opposed subsidies that
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28              favor big business over small farmers and
29              tariffs on imported products that have
30              greatly increased the cost of food.
31            * Senator Obama supports these billions of
32              dollars in corporate subsidies and the
33              tarrifs that have led to rising grocery
34           ** bills for American families. That's not
35           ** change we can believe in.=
36              ={grins widely----------------
37           -> =(0.4)
38    A/m: =>>       =clap=
39    A/m: =>>            =[yeah:!
40    A/m: =>>            =[boo::[:!
41    Aud: =>>                  [claps/boos
```

As previously argued, repeatedly, unfavorable messages (as the above instance/s indicate) are problematic because speakers in campaign rallies aim for collective expressions of affiliation or agreement that come as bursts at moments designed for appreciation by speakers (or calibrated responses to smaller units) from the audience *at large*; and as these demonstrate, negatively framed references pose a problem of how to 'appreciate' them.

Having now briefly looked at the issue substance (or 'content') point of view, let us now move on to a structural one. Previous research has provided more than ample evidence to prove that there is a 'place prepared for audience initiated appreciation.' In this particular context, the following cases demonstrate another place to look for that emphasis on agreement: the speaker's treatment of the audience's response/s that somehow fall short. As pointed out in Chapter 3, speakers produce units in the pursuit of a particular type of response. The preference here, as previous research points out, is for 'bursts' from the audience because responses that are 'less than [a burst]' are susceptible to being interpreted

as non-enthusiastic, not widely supported (as also evidenced by the problematic response in ex 4.04). Also mentioned, this includes any individualistic responses, non-collective responses (i.e., ones that come from only a small section of the audience). So what happens, then, when a response 'falls short'?

4.1.1 Preference for Agreement: Absorbing versus Basking in applause ('Managing Contingencies' – Revisited)

In Chapter 3, the section on 'Managing Contingencies' reveals some of the methods speakers deploy when the responses are somehow 'less than [ideal].' Recall that speakers can absorb the encroaching cheering/applause through the various ways they attempt to it hold off (e.g., compete in overlap, signal to the audience they should wait, as Hillary does in ex. 3.07 and ex. 3.16; or literally "hold" or suspend their own turn to outlast it, as McCain does in ex. 3.08); and how strikingly different that treatment is compared to the moments where speakers bask in the response when it comes at a TRP (as Romney did following "…comeback for America." in ex. 3.01). In other words, by revisiting the places not prepared or designed for a response, we can see how speakers respond to spontaneous responses, and also see what types of audience responses get such treatment (i.e., 'mutually monitored' type). Doing so provides another basis for seeing how the preference for agreement works for this occasion. Take for example the following cases where the speakers' treatment of 'less than ideal' responses (i.e., premature/not at a TRP, less than a 'burst' or not from the audience *at large*) is quite different from their behavior following responses that come after TRPs:

(At a particular moment: Response should wait for a TRP)

During her rally following Super Tuesday [Primaries], Hillary stops some premature cheering as she begins unpacking the very unit they are attempting to 'appreciate' (at single arrowed lines 02–14; as previously seen in ex. 3.16). At one point she visually signals to the audience that they should stop, while the production features of her overlapping turn (stretches and

increased volume) indicate there is more to her unit/turn; thus, 'absorbing' the audience's premature response. However, after the unit is complete, a portion of the audience[147] responds and she instead cuts off the in-progress next unit and nods in *agreement with* their appreciation – ultimately making room for the response (at double arrowed lines 27–32; as previously seen in ex. 3.22).

((previously seen, separately, as [ex. 3.16] and [ex. 3.22]))

[ex. 4.05] "People Across America" ~ H. Clinton
Feb 5, 2008 — New York, NY (Super Tuesday rally)

```
01    AUD:     [CHEERS
02    HCl:     [Thank you very much.=You know, (0.8)
03             tonight, we ar:e hearing, the voices, of
04             people across America.=
05          -> =[.mthh pe[op[l:e {o:f (0.2) {ALL [A:GES?  ]
                 |(0.9)|
06    Aud:     =[•yeah:::[!•                               |
07    Aud:      |-(1.0)-|[•w[oO::::•                  (1.9)
08    AUD:                  [chEE{RS--------{----[cheers= |
09    HCl:  ->                   {shakes head              |
10          ->                              {extends arm/ |
              ->                               hand out,    |
                                               as in "stop" ]
11    AUD:     =cheers-----[------[clapping----------]=
12    HCl:      (1.0) .hhh [(1.0) [of all colors, all]
13             =[faiths, and all walks of life. [.h people
14    Aud:     =[claps
```

[147] Recall that previously (in Chapter 3) it was noted that when she stops their response (and other issues with this exchange, including the design of the turn) it complicates the audience's response to the final component; to revisit these issues, please see ex. 3.22.

15 A/m: [( )

16 HCl: on the day shift, the night shift, [*.h* the

17 A/m: [( )

18 HCl: late shift.=with the crying baby. *.mt*!=

19 =[*.hh*, mo]ms and dads who want a better

20 A/m: =[( )]

21 HCl: world for our children. *.mt*!=*.hh* young

22 people who deserve a world of opportunity.

23 A/m: YEAH!=

24 HCl: =all tho[:se who aren't in the headlines,

25 A/m: [woo!

26 HCl: but have always written America's story.

27 ->> [.mt=.hh =[After-,(.)[

28 A/m: [w o o != |

29 A/m: |(-0.5)-|=[woo::! |

30 AUD: =[cheers----{-----[APPLAUSE/CHEERS=

|((*low*|*slow*|))

|- (1.0) -|(1.1)|- ((5.0)) -|

31 HCl: ->> {*raises eyebrows,*

32 ->> {*nods, 8 times total*

33 HCl: =[AFTER:,=SEVen year:s, of] a president who

Notice that as she signals that the audience's response is premature (at lines 05-13) it immediately drops off (at line 08), but as she makes room for the response (at lines 27/31-32) it immediately picks up (at line 30). When the response takes off, she stands silent (with her mouth closed, lips almost pursed), nodding along – basking in the response (as seen below in Figures 4.1a and 4.1b).

Figures 4.1a, 4.1b Hillary basks in the cheers/applause.
Hillary nods along, her mouth closed, lips slightly pursed,
as the audience cheers and applauds

(OF A PARTICULAR TYPE: FROM THE AUDIENCE *AT LARGE*)

While proclaiming his victory/comeback in a rally following the New Hampshire primary (briefly mentioned in [ex. 3.24] and footnotes 33 and 41), in two separate instances McCain absorbs (at arrowed lines 08 and 30) the individualistic and 'less than a burst' shouts that prematurely respond to the initial points of compound units (at starred lines 07 and 31–33). In contrast, he then basks in both *at large* and boisterous responses that follow once the units are complete (at double-arrowed lines 10/13/15 and 46).

[ex. 4.06] "Don't worry John" ~ J. McCain,
Jan 8, 2008 — Nashua, New Hampshire (NH Primary)

```
01    McC:      My friends, (0.3) you know-, .mt I'm past
02              the age when I can claim the noun,
03              ki:d(h),=.h! no matter what adjective
04              precedes it.
05    AUD:      chuck[les--[--
06    A/m:      (0.8)[woo!=
07    A/m:    * |-(1.0) -|=[DO:N['T WORRY  JO:]:HN!
08    McC:  -> |-   (1.5)    -|[But toni:ght,](0.2) we
09              su::re showed them what a=
10          =>> =comeba[ck looks like. [nnnn hnh hnh hnh]
```

```
11  A/m:            [yyyeeeaaaahhhhh
12  AUD:                           [ROAR----------]  |
13  McC: =>> =[hnh hnh hnh hnh hnh hnh hnh (1.6)]=    |
14  AUD:     =[ROAR----------------------------]=((9.0))
15  McC: =>> =[hnh hnh hnh hnh hnh ((3.0))           |
16  AUD:     =[ROAR--------------------[-------------  __
17  AUD:                               [mac. is. back.  |
18  AUD:     back (.) MAC. IS. BACK. (.) MA[C. IS. BACK.|
19  McC:                                   [°Thank you.° |
20  AUD:     (.) MAC. IS. B[ACK. (.) MAC. IS. BACK. (.) |
21  McC:                   [Tha:nk you:.         ((10.0))
22  AUD:     [MAC. IS. BACK. (.) MAC. is. [back. (.)    |
23  McC:     [THAnk you:.                 [WHEN THE     |
24           °mac.   is.   ba[ck°          ((19.0total))
25  McC:     =PUNDINTS:, (.) [when the pundints declared
26           us finished I told them:, .mt .h (.) "I'm
27           going to New Hampshire, where the voters
28           don't let [you make their decision for=
29  A/m:               [woo:::::!
30  McC:  -> =th[em," .mhhh={"holds":::::::::::::::::::]=
                          still posture, mouth open
31  A/m:   *    [That's [rig{ht!]
32  A/m:   *            [Yea{h! ]
33  A/m:   *            [(  {  )]RIGHT!=
34  AUD:                                =chEERS/APPlause]=
                                        |-   (1.9)    -|
35           =[cheers/applause][c[lapping------------]
36  McC:      [And  when  they][a[s:ked, (.) "how you]
37  A/m:                       [woo!
```

```
38    Aud:      =[clapping----]
39    McC:      =[gonna do it,] You're down in the
40              p(h)olls,=You don't have the money"=I
41              answered, .hh "I'm going to New Hampshire,
42              .h and I'm going to tell people the
43              tru::th:."
44    A/m:      YE[AH:::
45    AUD:        [ROAR/APPLAUSE---CHEERS--cheers][clapping
46    McC:  =>>   |-              (8.0)           -|[We came
```

Initially, a self-deprecating 'headline' (at lines 01–04) projects that some next unit will follow. However, following the calibrated/preliminary chuckles from the audience, an audience member responds to it as a stand-alone unit by commiserating ("Don't worry…" at starred line 07). Rather than give it the room to develop or come to completion, McCain begins his next unit in direct competition with the potentially disruptive yelling (at arrowed line 08), even slightly stretching and pausing momentarily so as to produce the 'punchline' in the clear (at lines 08–10). After producing it, notice McCain's strikingly different behavior: he laughs in overlap with the audience's roar (at double-arrowed lines 10–16). Though in some ways it might [humbly] appreciate the response, it more shows he is aligned in producing a responsive action ['now'] while also being sensitive to his role as speaker (i.e., he cannot applaud himself).

In the very next component (starting at line 25), he begins a follow-up to explain the 'comeback.' He refers to the criticisms, and the structure of its telling ("when *x*…") projects that a response to those criticisms ("[then] *y* happened") will come next before the unit is complete. He then produces what turns out to be only a preliminary response to the critics ("I'm going to…" at lines 26–30). However, because it amounts to a compliment ("New Hampshire, where the voters don't let you make their decision for them"), several audience members respond (at starred lines 31–33). As they cheer during an extended in-breath,

McCain in turn 'holds' his turn (at line 30) at this very moment – his posture still, his mouth open (as in Figure 4.2 below) for over two seconds, literally showing a suspension of the production of his next turn:

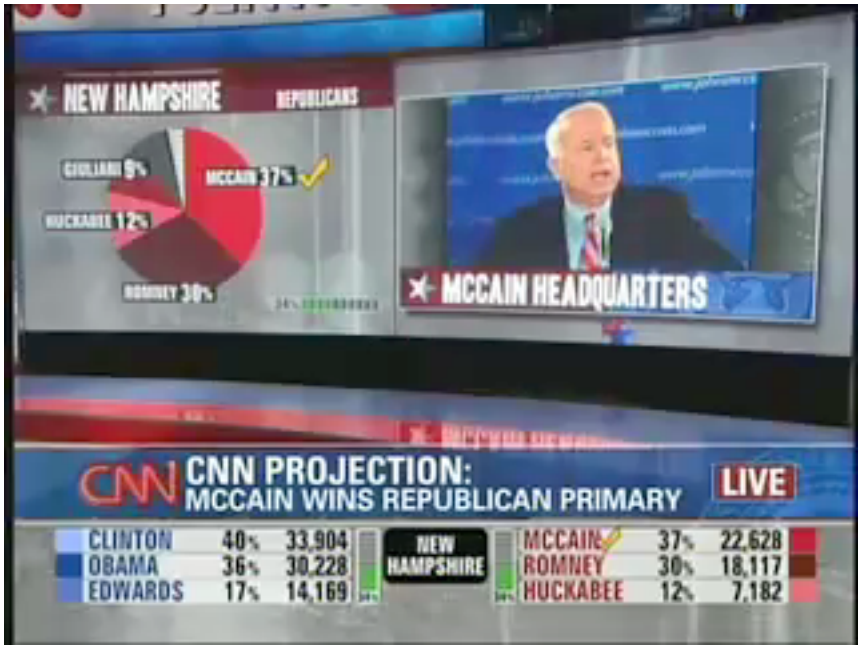
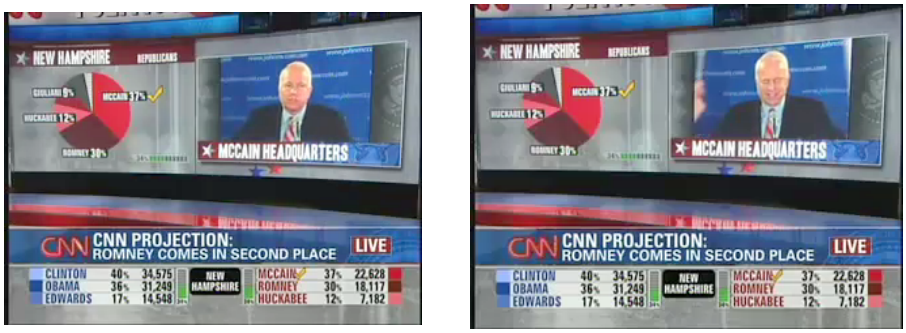


Figure 4.2 McCain absorbs the intervening response.
He suspends the production of his turn, indicating the response is premature as he intends to continue.

As previously mentioned, this held body posture indicates his intent to continue ('holding' his turn/position to outlast the competing or interjecting actions) – in other words, absorbing the intervening response. The audience notices this, too: their cheers rise-and-fall relatively quickly (at line 34). McCain then continues, which now [in hindsight] indicates that his reference to the 'journey (to New Hampshire)' poses another issue from the critics ("how you gonna do it?" at lines 36/39). The next response to the critics proposes that he does not need the pomp-and-circumstance [for New Hampshire], all he needs is "the tru::th:." (at lines 41–43). The audience responds with a roar, but more importantly McCain *demonstrates* that this is now the moment of completion. At the tail end of the unit, he extends his neck/chin out along with a slow and deliberate delivery (on "tru::th:." – at figure 4.3a below); and upon

its completion he pulls his neck/chin and grins (at figure 4.3b below) – basking in the response.



"...people the tru::th:." ... (at completion)

Figure 4.3a, 4.3b – McCain indicates turn/unit completion.

(OF A PARTICULAR TYPE: PREFERENCE FOR AGREEMENT/AFFILIATION)

This preference for agreement is, however, not for a particular response (e.g., cheers/applause) but for a particular type or class of responses that demonstrate agreement or affiliation. As noted in Chapter 2, this includes 'boos' that are affiliative. For example, in this next excerpt (previously seen as ex. 2.25 and ex. 4.02), Hillary makes two references to what the Republicans want (a 'headline' at lines 01–02 and then unpacks that into a list of current issues contrasted with mock-responses from Republicans – "they see *issue X*, they say *why not [more]...*" at lines 14–22) which get boos. However, rather than treated as problematic these boos – despite one of them being premature – are given some room to develop (at lines 04–13 and 22–25).

((previously seen as ex. 2.25 and ex. 4.02))
[ex. 4.07] "Republicans want 8 more" ~ H. Clinton
Feb 5, 2008 – New York, NY (Super Tuesday rally)

01 HCl: Well, the Republicans want eight more years
02 of the same.=
03 A/m: =([{)

04 AUD: [{b o o : {O O{: {: : :]=
05 [{They see{:-|- (1.8) -|
06 {*raises arms, palms up*
07 {*sweeping nod*
08 {*arms down*
09 {*quick nod*
10 =[O O : :{: : { : : [o o : : :]
11 HCl: =[*.mt!=.h{;holds mouth open*
12 A/m: |[({)!=[
13 HCl: | {*quick headshakes, shrugs,*
| *and flips palms "open"*
| *((as if "I know"/"go figure"))*
14 HCl: |- (1.9) -|=[They see tax] cuts
15 for the wealthy an' they say, "Why not
16 more,"=.h=They see ni:ne tri:llion dollars
17 in debt {(0.4) say, "Why not trillions
18 {*slightly dips then sweeps head,*
with purses lips
19 mo:r:e," .hh They see fi:ve years in Iraq
20 'en say, {(0.3) why: not a HUNdred
21 {*flourishes left arm/hand up;*
shaking head
22 mo[re," .hh we:ll::]
23 AUD: [boo::[::::OO:::::::::oo:[::::::::::::]
|- (3.2) -|
24 AUD: [*chuckles*
25 HCl: |-(2.1)-|[they've go:t]
26 until January twentieth two thousand and
27 nine and not O[NE D[A:Y mo[re.

28 A/m: [woo!

29 A/m: [woo:::!

30 AUD: [cheeRS/APPLAUSE--

|- (9.6) -|

She initially 'headlines' that Republicans are after a victory to keep their policies going (at lines 01–02), projecting that another unit (a contrast to those wants – a 'punchline') is on its way. However, this initial reference gets some boos (at lines 04/10) that are actually affiliative (and as pointed out in Chapter 2, these types of unconventional responses can indeed follow a preliminary point or a 'sub-point'). And despite being premature, rather than suspend or even compete for the turn (as speakers do to compete with an encroaching turn – as seen in ex. 3.17 – ex. 3.19) Hillary instead stops her speech and makes room for the response (at line 05). She even encourages it to develop (as we saw speakers can do in these cases, in ex. 3.22); in this instance briefly motioning in *agreement and commiseration with the audience* (at lines 06–09). When she unpacks this headlining unit, the three-item list – each a hot-button issue with a respective [mock] flippant Republican response ("they see *issue*, they say '*why not more*' at lines 14–22) also gets a round of boos. She again gives it the space to run its course before she continues on to deliver the punchline (at lines 25–27).

As these excerpts demonstrate, speakers anticipate and adapt to applause in places where it is prepared for (they stop, they bask) – and in some cases even when it is not prepared for it but still 'appropriate' (i.e., affiliative), doing so to allow or even encourage the response to continue. However, other forms of audience behavior or [other] places where audience members respond individually are treated very differently. This variable treatment of audience responses is evidence for the preference for agreement – that there is indeed *a place* where "showing appreciation in the usual manner" is relevant, but that also the relevant response is a collective and affiliative one. But the most blatant display is in the treatment of disaffilative responses.

4.1.2 Preference for Agreement: Disagreement is Dispreferred

The preference for agreement can also be found in the way disaffiliative displays are treated. More specifically, agreement is underscored when parties treat 'disagreement' as a dispreferred response. As Chapter 3 points out, typically hecklers can be dealt with through passive means by both the speaker and the audience in an attempt to re-engage the turn-taking structure (recall section 3.2.2, or more specifically ex. 3.11–3.14). But as this section will demonstrate, this disagreement (i.e., disaffiliative remarks) – especially when unrelenting – can be treated more directly (as in ex. 4.08 below) or more aggressively (as in ex. 4.09 below) by both speaker and audience, can become more assertive when met with resistance (as with video 4.10 below), and in extreme cases those who disagree can even be assaulted (as with video 4.11 below). Thus, any alternatives to 'agreement' are excluded to the extent that disagreement is treated with contempt or even physical violence.

(Disagreement met with Contempt and then Physical Removal)

During a rally for Hillary, President Bill Clinton speaks with supporters when a heckler begins yelling. The following picks up during a rare moment when the speaker breaks from the speech to engage in an exchange with the heckler. After an initial verbal admonishment from the speaker (at arrowed lines 10–11) and corresponding laughter/cheers from the audience (at lines 12–13), the heckler continues. After the audience tells him to 'sit down' (at starred lines 26–27), it still continues. Eventually security approaches the heckler, turn him around, and escort him out (at lines 44–47). The audience laughs and cheers (at lines 41 and 48) as Clinton verbally dismisses him and security pushes him out the door (at lines 36–40 and 43–47).

[ex. 4.08] “Bohemian Club” (simplified) ~ B. Clinton

May, 208 – Minnesota (rally for Hillary)

```
01    BCl:     {Wuddya want me tuh talk ‘bout?
02             {left hand extended out, in “hold” manner
                   ((remains so until line 14))
03             (0.2)
04    HA/m:    Nine-eleven (      (fraud) [             )
05   2HA/m:                                [↓yeahhhhhh
06             (.)
07    BCl:     a fraud?
08    HA/m:    (              [     )
09    BCl:                    [No it wasn’t a fraud, but
10          -> I’ll be glad to talk to you if you’ll shut
11          -> up and let me talk. [(.) (Now.)]=
12    Aud:                         [chuckles--]=
13             =cheERS/AP{PLAUSE------[-----------=
14    BCl:      |-(1.4)-|{lowers hand down
15                       |-  (1.6)  -|[(And-)
16    Aud:     =cheers/applau[se------------------]=
17    BCl:      |-  (2.4)  -|[a fraud. (1.6) let me]
18    Aud:     =[cheers/applause-----------applause---=
19    BCl:      [tell you something.
20    Aud:     =applau[se-claps-]
21    BCl:             [I’ll tell] you a couple’uh stories
22             about frau[d.
23    HA/m:               [Bohemian Club!
24    A/m:     (    [ )
25    A/m:          [(       )
26    A/m:    -> SI(T)=[DOWN
```

```
27    Aud:  -> (sit) [DO::W::[N::! ((several, scattered))
*               ((video goes black...))
28                           [murmur[s, shouts---------]=
29    BCL:                          [The Bohemian Club!]
30    Aud:     =murmu[rs--a-few-shouts---[---------
31   HA/m:      (0.3)[•YEAH!•
*               ((video returns: HA/m center screen...))
32    BCL:                                [(Th-)=Did you say
33              the Bohemian Club?
35   HA/m:      {•YEAH!•=
36   1SEC:      {places {hand on HA/m's shoulder
37   HA/m:             ={turns to look at 1SEC
38    BCL:      .mthh That's where all those rich
39              Republicans go up and stand nekkid against-,
40              (0.2) redwood trees. Right?
41    AUD:      [laughter, li{ght {clapping
42   HA/m:      [(           {    {  )
43   1SEC: ->>               {reac{hes across HA/m's body=
44   2SEC: ->>                    {reaches for HA/m's arm=
45    BCl:      ={I've never been to the Bohemian Club. But
46   1SEC: ->>  {physically remove/push HA/m out door
47   2SEC: ->>  {physically remove/push HA/m out door
46              you oughtta go it'd be good for ya.=Y'get
47              some fresh air.
48    AUD:      laughter--cheERS/APPLAUSE-----------------
```

Sometimes the response is comes a lot sooner, with a little more animosity directed at the heckler. Take, for example, the rally in New Hampshire where Hillary encounters two hecklers telling her to "iron my shirt" (previously seen as ex. 3.12). Alternate footage of the

event shows additional details (as indicated by a "+" next to the line numbers) of a much swifter response to the heckling and a little hostility from security as well the audience. Before Hillary even breaks from the speech to call for the lights, security is already walking down the aisles towards the hecklers (at arrowed line 12); and an audience member in the hecklers' makes her own direct attempt by grabbing his sign. Then, despite the hecklers making their way out of the audience (i.e., no resisting), security physically intervenes to expedite those efforts to leave and the audience's participation is also much more hostile (at double-arrowed lines 13/18/ 28 and 47–50).

[ex. 4.09] "Iron My Shirt" ~ H. Clinton
Jan 07, 2008 — Salem, N.H. (rally)

```
01    HCl:      .mt! Some people thin:k, (.) you bring
02              about change, (.)[by demanding it? (0.6) ]
03  1HA/m:                      I [R O N.  MY.  S H I R T!]

04    HCl:      a[nd SO:ME PEOPL:E THINK,= [you bring]=
05  1HA/m:       [IRON.  MY.  SHIRT! (.) =I[RON.  MY ]=

06    HCl:      =[abou[t cha:nge (0.5) [BY:::=
07  1HA/m:      =[SHIR[T!  (.)  IRON.  [MY. SHIRT! (.)]=
08    Aud:            [murmurs-------------------------]=
09   ?A/m:                                   =[(     )]

10  1HA/m:      =[I:R[{ON. MY. SHIRT! (.){IRON.{MY. SHIRT!]
11    AUD:      =[mur[{MURS--------------------{----------]=
12+   SEC:  ->       {emerge on camera, ((three of them))
                      walking down the aisle
13+  1A/m: =>>                          {grabs at
                                         HA/m's sign
14+ 1HA/m:                                    {recoils sign
```

15 1A/m: [(.)[I R O N. [{M Y. S H] I R T!

16 HCl: [>C/n we< turn [{the lights on?] (.)

17 AUD: =[MURM[URS----------[{murmurs----------

18+ 1A/m: =>> {*grabs at his sign*

19 [It's awfully d[ark. here for everybo]dy.]=

20 1A/m: [I R O N. MY. SHIRT!](.)]

21 AUD: =[murmurs-------[----------]---]=

22 2HA/m: =[IRON, MY [SHIRT. (.) [IRON, MY SHIRT.]

23 1HA/m: [IRON. MY. [SHI[RT!

24 ?A/m: [([ )

25 AUD: =[murmurs--[MURMURS---[---[----------]=

26 AUD: =[murmurs---[{----------]

27 2HA/m: |- (0.7) -|[{IRON. MY. SHIRT! (.)]

28+ 1A/m: {*grabs sign away from 1HA/m*

29 HCl: O{H::[::::, the {remnants of <sexism,> alive

30+ 1SEC: {*reaches arm into the row, and motions with hand for HA/ms to come towards aisle*

31+ 2A/m: [GET (THE HELL OUT)

32+ 1HA/m: {*making efforts to move towards aisle, (perhaps) even gather belongings*

33 'en [well:, {tonig[ht.

34 AUD: [cheers------[CHEERS/APP{LAUSE--------}=

35+ 1SEC: |- (5.1) -|
|(2.1)|{*reaches into row, grabs and pulls HA/m out*}=

```
36    HCl:     =[You kn{ow what!
37    AUD:     =[CHEERS{/APPLAUSE-------cheers/applause}--=
38+  1SEC:             {pulling HA/m out of the row----}

39    AUD:     =ch{eers/applau{se---[--------------------=
...              ((HA/m and security re-emerge on camera))
40+ 1HA/m:         {walking up {aisle
41+  1SEC:         {walking up {aisle (behind HA/m)
42+              |-  (3.5)  -| {shove[s HA/m in the back
43+                                [EY!!
...             ((camera pans back down aisle to 2nd HA/m))
44+   AUD:     =c{la[pping/murmurs-----[--[-----[-cheers}]=
45+ 2HA/m:       {walking up aisle--------[-----[-------}
46+  3SEC:       {walking up aisle (behind HA/m)[-------}
47+  2A/m:          [GO IRON YER OWN SH[IR[T ! =
48+  3A/m:                               [GE['OTA=[HERE
49+  3A/m:                                  [YEAH=[Y'BUM!
50+  4A/m:                                       =[YEAH:::!]

51  2HA/m:     ={walk off camera
52    AUD:     =cheers/applause--[CHEERS/APPLAUSE--{------=
53                                                 {STAND
```

Within seconds of the shouting, security arrives and all three walk directly down the aisle towards the disruption. But before security even gets to him, one audience member makes a few attempts to grab the heckler's sign – eventually grabbing it away (at lines 13, 18, and 28). In addition, despite showing some willingness to be removed from the occasion, security makes a show of removing them – pulling while he is walking out of the row (at lines 32 and 35, respectively, and shoving while he is walking up the aisle (at lines 40–42). Even the audience shows little sympathy: as both hecklers are escorted out, not only do they

cheer but several audience members jeer (at lines 47-50); and once they are gone, the audience starts a standing ovation.

In extreme cases, this aggression can turn violent. Take for example a rally during Obama's 2012 re-election campaign. Home video of the event shows a pro-life protestor disrupting the event.

[video 4.10] "Heckler forcefully removed"
Nov 4, 2012 – Cincinnati, OH (Obama rally)

(00:15) Things get heated and an usher has to put both hands up to hold off some A/ms who begin shouting at and acting more aggressively towards the HA/m;

(00:58) When security shows up, the AUD begins to cheer. However, the HA/m refuses to leave;

(01:07) The struggle becomes physical as security forcefully attempts to remove the unwilling HA/m for the next several moments (until 01:48 when the camera pans away), prying his hands off the railing (also seen in figure 4.4a below); all the while, the audience is cheering on this display of force – cheering even louder when the 4 security guards literally drag him away (at 01:27; also seen in figure 4.4b below).

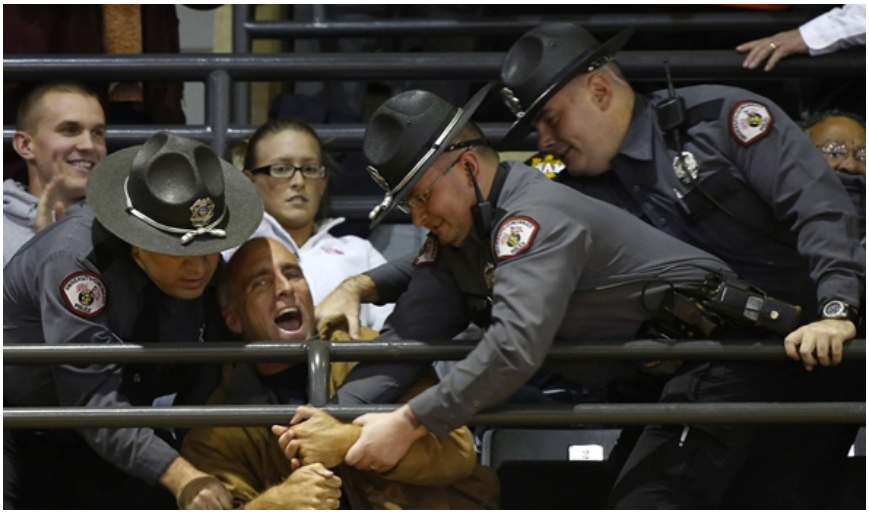


Figure 4.4a – Heckler forcefully removed

Photo credit: Larry Downing / Reuters
http://firstread.nbcnews.com/_news/2012/11/04/14928700-hecklers-interrupt-obamas-cincinnati-rally?lite

Figure 4.4b – Heckler forcefully removed

Photo credit: Ashley Kempher
http://magazine.uc.edu/favorites/web-only/obamaconnect/Obama2012.html

In another instance, despite the heckler's own willingness to leave, several audience members have issue with his disagreement, eventually confronting him – one of them even striking him, and then others taking it upon themselves to remove him.

[video 4.11] “Heckler assaulted”

Mar 27, 2010 – Mesa, AZ (Palin Rally)

(01:16) HA/m screaming, puts both arms up – starts to move, shuffling/walking sideways, as if to leave

(01:19) stpops/pauses to scream again;

(01:20) face-to-face with A/m (dark shirt) who stands up and gets in his face

(01:21) HA/m stops screaming, begins walking away (across the “row”) again – now confronted by more A/ms (who were seated around him, that now stand up and begin yelling at him); they begin “following” him as he walks through the row;

(01:26) one A/m (in white-collared, long-sleeve button up) punches him from behind; they scuffle – briefly.

(01:42) HA/m is escorted out – forcefully – by A/ms, one has him “locked” arm-in-arm the other has a grip on his upper arm and wrist

(02:03) the “boos” and “hisses” (and chants) turn to cheers [presumably after he is out of sight – even though he has been “off-camera” for a few seconds now], celebrating his removal

The totality of this evidence clearly establishes that agreement [in the form of cheers/applause] is the normatively prescribed action for this type of an occasion. And while varied responses relay that some variations on agreement permitted (e.g., affiliative booing), any variations that are not ‘agreement’ are completely excluded – even expunged. This treatment of disagreement is quite different from that of the almost commonplace treatment of disagreement that Atkinson alludes to in U.K. Party Conferences. For example, Atkinson notes that:

- "Disputes within the British Labour Party between the 1979 and 1983 general elections involved frequent attacks by its members on targets selected from within their own ranks," (1984a:40);
- [A]udiences … are for the most part confined to the production of gross displays of affiliation (such as applause, cheers, laughter) or *disaffiliation* (such as boos, jeers, and heckles)" (1984b:371);

where disagreement is treated as unremarkable. In fact, during the 1980 Labour Party conference, Tony Benn's criticism demonstrates that 'arguing with conference' is expected – even criticized if there is an attempt to avoid it:

[ex. 4.12] (Labour Party conference, 1980)
reprinted from Atkinson, (43) Benn

Benn: ... and I make not too much of that (.) save
for one thing.
(1.0)
If you have a veto (0.3) those who oppose
(.) policies (0.2) don't bother (0.2) to argue
(0.2) with conf↓erence
(0.4)
because they ↑wait to the Clause ↑Five
↓meeting and they ↑kill it
(0.2)
SECRETLY
(0.2)
PRIVATELY
(0.2)
with↓out↓ debate [now MY RESENT...
Audience: [X-XXXXXXXXX...

This can be attributed in part to the different purposes for the respective meetings previously mentioned (and, as we will see) but also has to do with the respective identities of the participants described in Chapters 1 and 2) – which, in turn, bears upon just what [types of] actions are [considered] relevant for each respective participant.

In party conferences, both the speaker and audience members are fellow members of the party – present to debate or influence party policy. So when an issue is presented, according to Atkinson, speakers make an *evaluative assessment* that claims to reflect the collective mood, to be speaking on *behalf* of the audience as a whole (i.e., speaking oh behalf of the party); this accounts for most, if not all, sequences of talk throughout his book (1984a:34-35; both italics in original). Now, in producing such an assessment, it provides the audience (fellow party members) an opportunity to agree or disagree – or as Atkinson puts it, to respond with a collective display of approval (1984a:35) or even potential 'disapproval' (as demonstrated above). The focus here, then, is on responding to political assertions or positions taken with respect to them – and whether the audience agrees or not. And (so) not only are these 'applaudable messages' an attempt at receiving affiliative responses, but part of their aim is to drown out potentially disaffiliative responses; as Atkinson notes, "A favourable response of adequate duration and intensity should also have the effect of drowning out any signs of dissent from opposing factions in the audience" (1984a:94).

In modern campaign rallies, however, there is no such worry. audience members are not there to debate policy but to (among other things) boost or show their support for the campaign – to affiliate with the candidate (as evidenced by the dispreference for disagreement or anything disaffiliative). The speaker, however, aims for this encounter to be a boost for the campaign by having the event in some way translate to [social] action after the event is over (e.g., swaying some that are undecided through the showing of support a campaign has via the supportive displays of the audience), but also by establishing some rapport with the audience.

This leads us to the third reason the types of 'applaudable messages' that occur in campaign rally speeches are unique to campaign rally speeches – why it is that (as noted in the introduction) attendees and media alike can recognize a particular meeting [of one type] to be 'more like a rally.' The messages described in previous research differ not only because of different goals and aims of the occasion but because of whom the respective participants are to one another in the respective occasions (recall Chapter 2). Speakers in Party Conferences are fellow party members, speaking "on behalf of the group" – making arguments for or against particular policies, to which agreement or disagreement becomes relevant. The speaker in campaign rallies is speaking as an individual, proposing to be elected as the representative of a group of constituents; and in the case of the President, the representative of all (or at least 'most') constituents – or more specifically, from the viewpoint of the co-present/overhearing audience, a candidate wanting to be "my representative." As a result, agreement *with the speaker/candidate* (or with what the speaker/candidate is saying) is not the only thing relevant for attendees/constituents. This is most evident in not only how the agreement or 'affiliating' gets done, but also in the wider range of actions (which we will see later in this chapter) on the part of the speaker/candidate (who is speaking to supporters/voters rather than a speaker/party-member speaking to fellow party-members).

4.2 MORE THAN JUST AFFILIATION AND AGREEMENT

Despite the overwhelming evidence that agreement *can* be accomplished in this environment, the broader range of responses from the audience (recall Chapter 2) reflects how speakers can enact multiple others. In other words, the range of forms that 'agreement' and 'participation' take – and the range of forms that are made relevant – is somewhat different for campaign speeches. So with a broader range of things possible, simply calling this a matter of 'agreement' does not quite capture it. Even though the term was intentionally selected as a gross generalization, Atkinson admits (albeit only in a footnote):

> "…clapping and cheering are referred to as 'displays of affiliation, or 'affiliative responses.' But in particular local instances more precise

> implications may be involved. Applause may, for example, be a way of welcoming, thanking, or congratulating some identified person, or it may be done as a display of agreement with some decision, proposal, or a particular point being made by a speaker. Although subsequent research may show that such differences are systematically related to the way applause and other responses are produced, little evidence to this effect has been noted so far" (1984b:404–406).

Indeed this is one such occasion. In the following sections, we explore the range of options (not an exhaustive list by any means) available to speakers, grounding the analysis in the audiences' (varied) responses to those units before getting to (in the next section) the implications these have for the social relations between participants. But as an initial way into this, we first take a look at how is that a speaker can put herself in a position where the audience feel like she understands them. How can a speaker communicate to a group of audience members that she gets them, that she will represent them and their interests – when she is the one doing all the talking, and they are in a position to only 'agree'? How can speakers get around 'telling' the audience what the issues are, and communicate that she 'gets' what their issues are?

4.2.1 CONFIRMATION OVER AGREEMENT

As previous research has made clear (c.f., Schegloff, 1996; Heritage and Raymond, 2005; Stivers, 2005; Raymond and Heritage, 2006), epistemic primacy can be a matter of negotiation; and as this section will show it can even relinquished. One way to do this – from the first [sequential] position – is to change the perspective from which the assertions are made by setting up a place for the audience to confirm (rather than agree *with*) that assertion. There are several ways that speakers can accomplish this: assertions from first-person collective perspectives (a "we" formulation"), from second-person perspectives (a "you" formulation), and from incumbent category perspectives. In the section to follow, speakers change the perspectives from which the assertions are made – going from delivering ideas from the "speaker's perspective" ("I think…," "I believe…," etc.) to that of the "audience's perspective") ("we have, we should"; "you are, your dream, you came because, you believed"; "the people of Ohio").

As previous research shows, presenting the perspective an 'other' changes the action implication of one's utterance in that it makes relevant confirmation (or disconfirmation) from that 'other' in that very next turn (c.f., Lerner, 2002, 2004; Li, *2007*). By changing the perspective from which the assertions are made, it reshapes the audience's opportunities for participation. In effect, the rhetoric shifts the audience members' participation from responding to a politician by 'agreeing (*with* her)' to a position in which they 'confirm' her formulation/s – suggesting that she agrees with them, rather than vice-versa.

(First-person 'collective' perspectives: "We-Us-Our" formulations) In the following cases, speakers present assertions from a 'collective' perspective (speaking as a "we" – at arrowed turns). By including the audience – or the audience's perspective – in as a part of that 'collective [reference]' the audience now has the right to confirm that assertion; combined with an 'applaudable message,' the audience now also has the *place* to confirm – which they do (at the double arrowed turns). These can be simple (as in ex. 4.13), or they can be a part of a complex combination (as with 4.14).

[ex. 4.13] "We're going to..." (simplified) ~ M. Romney
Jan 15, 2008 – Southfield, MI (Rally)

```
01    Rom:      Guess what they're- guess what they're doing
02              in Washington. They're worrying.
03    Aud:      laughter
04    Rom:      because they realize, the lobbyists and the
05              politicians realize, that America now
06           -> understands that Washington is broken. And
07           -> we're going to do something about it.
08    AUD: =>> CHEERS
```

[ex. 4.14] “We done this befoh” ~ B. Obama

Feb 10, 2007 — Springfield, IL (Announce)

```
01    Oba:     The GEnius:. (.) of our FOUnders:. (0.2) .h
02             is that they desi:gned a system of
03             government that ca::n(h) (0.2) be
04          -> chang[ed. [.hhh (.) And we should take
05    A/m:           [ yea[h
06    A/m:                [tha:t's right.
07    Oba:  -> heart.=because we've cha:nged this
08             country before.
09    A/m: =>> yea[h
10    A/m: =>>    [yeah[::
11    A/m: =>>    [woo:[::::
12    Oba:             [In the face of tyranny, (0.5) a
13             band of patriots brought- .h an Empire to
14             its knee:s:.
15    A/m:     yeah=
16    A/m:         =woo[::
17    Oba:             [In the face, (.) of secession.
18          -> (0.8) .mt we unified a nation. (0.2) and set
19             the captives free. .h[hh (.) [In the face of
20    Aud: =>>                      [yeahs &[cheers ((mild))
21          -> depression. .mt we put peopl:e, back to work
22          -> and lifted millions, .h out of poverty.=We
23          -> welcomed immigrants .hh to our shores. We,
24          -> .h opened railroads to the west,=we la:nded
25          -> .h a man on the moo:n. .h and we hear:d a
26          -> King's call, .h to let justice roll down
27             lauke wahtuh[s, [.hh and righ[teousness.]=
```

```
28    AUD:                  [cheers/applause-[CHEERS----]=
29    Oba:  -> =[.h like a mighty stream. (0.8) we've]=
30    AUD:     =[CHEERS/APPLAUSE---------------------]=
31    Oba:     =[done this bef[ohe. =[(1.1) EACH A]ND EVery
32    AUD:     =[CHEERS-------[cheers[clapping----]
33    A/m:                           =[woo::!
34    Oba:     TI:me, a new generation, .h has risen up.
35             (0.9) and done what's needed to be done.
36             (0.2)
37    A/m:     (     )!
38    Oba:  -> Toda:y, (.) we are ca:ll:ed, (.) once more.
39    A/m:     ( [   )!
40    Oba:  ->   [and it is ti:me for our generation, .h to
41          -> answer that call.
42    AUD: =>> CHEERS/APPLAUSE/WHOOPS
```

These can be especially important in terms of how politicians relate to constituents/audiences – especially when the construction of the unit/s create a divide between the participants rather than conveying an understanding, or even worse – make it confusing. For example, during McCain's 2008 rally following the New Hampshire Primary, though he begins with a collective reference ("we, the party" at arrowed lines 01-02), as the larger unit unfolds he begins to mix references when he also refers to another collective – of which he is a part, but the audience is not ("…the people to whom *we* are accountable" at lines 08). By mixing 'we' references ('we' the party, 'we' the government/politicians'), and bouncing back and forth (at line 09 it is "we [the party] don't believe…" but then at line 14 it is "… we have lost the trust of the people"), it becomes unclear who the subsequent 'our' formulations (at lines 15–16) refer to. One the one hand this is problematic because he separates himself from the audience and aligns himself with the politicians [whom he claims have 'lost the trust of the people']. But structurally it is problematic because it poses

a problem for the audience's response. It creates not only a question of how to align with the argument, but whether to – as evidenced by the tremendous lag, the mutually monitoring type of a build up for the response (at lines 29–32), but also in the fact that the 'uptake' (the takeaway displayed) by the audience is to cheer for the assertion that America is the greatest nation in history (some begin to cheer "U.S.A." rather than some other "pro-McCain" chant – at line 34)

[ex. 4.15] "We, the party..." ~ J. McCain
Jan 15, 2008 — Nashua, NH (NH Primary Rally)

```
01    McC: ->  [Tha:nk you. .mt I] seek the nomination of a
02         ->  p(h)arty,=that believes in the strength,
03             industry, and goodness of the American
04         ->  people. .mt .h We don't believe that
05             government has all the answers, (.) .h but
06             that it should respect the rights,
07             property:, (.) and under-=opportunities of
08          *  the people. (.) .h to whom we are
09             accountable. .t.h We don't believe in
10             growing the si:ze of government, .h to make
11             it easier to serve our own ambitions, .hh
12             But what government is expected to do:, it
13             must do with competence, resolve and wisdom.
14          *  .hh I recent years, we have lost the trust
15          *  of the people. .h who share our principles,
16          *  .h but doubt our own allegiance to them.
17             .mt.h I seek the nomination of our party to
18             resto:re that trust. .h to return our
19             property- our- party to the principles .h
20             that have never failed Americans. .h.mt
```

```
21          ->  >The party of fiscal discipline,=low
22              taxes,=enduring values,< .h a strong and
23              capable defense. .h that encourages the
24              enterprise and ingenuity of individuals, .h
25              businesses and families, .h who know best.
26              (0.2) how to advance America's economy.
27              (0.2) and secure the dreams that have made
28              us (.) .h the greatest nation in history.
29    A/m: =>> YEAH[:::
30    A/m: =>>     [YEAH[:::
31    AUD: =>> |-(1.1)-|[YEAH[----
32    AUD: =>>               [ROAR---------------------]=
33              =CHEERS-----[------------------
34    Aud:                 [u. s. a! (.) u. S. A!
```

This is not to claim that 'we' formulations and 'making confirmation relevant' do not occur in speeches examined in prior research (because the do, see below). Instead, this is an effort to make clear that the instances [of collective references] from prior research do not have the same implications as campaign rallies. Speakers and audience members in Party Conferences are members of the same party, debating policy. So claiming epistemic primacy (or, as we will see later in the chapter, any implication of 'independently held assertion') does not hold the same level of importance as it does for speakers and audience members in campaign rallies. For example, compare these to some 'we' formulations from Atkinson's (1984a) and Heritage and Greatbatch's (1986):

[ex. 4.16] (UK general election, 1979)

reprinted from Atkinson, (19) Heath

Heath: ... the La<u>bour</u> (0.4) Prime Minister and his
colleagues are boasting in this election
cam↑paign
(0.7)
that they have brought inflation down from
the disastrous level of twenty six per cent
(1.4)
But we are entitled to in↓<u>quire</u>
(0.4)
who put it ↑<u>up</u>
(.)
↓to ↓twenty six per ↓cent

Audience: Heh[heh|---------(8.0)--------|

Audience: [x-xxXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXxx-x

[ex. 4.17] (Labour: Tape2: Economic Policy: Aurther Scargill: ST)

reprinted from Heritage and Greatbatch, (16)

Scargill: We have to recogni:se (0.6) against that
Backgrou:und (0.4) that <u>this</u> pa:rty (0.2)
<u>Has</u> to declare its policy.
(0.8)
NO MORE mus- must we go into <u>powe</u>:r (0.4)
on the prov<u>i</u>so (0.3) that we try to make
↑<u>WOR</u>KERS pay for the crisis of
capital[ism (.) ↑<u>THAT'S NOT OUR RESPONSIBILITY.</u>

Audience: [Applause (7.5 seconds)

where the we formulations ("we are entitled to inquire…" and "we have to recognize…" and subsequent applause) do not bear the same issues in relation to 'who is agreeing with whom' (Schegloff, 1996)[148].

(Second-person perspectives: "You" formulations) In these cases, speakers present the perspective of the audience – and *only* their perspective ("*you* formulations" – at single arrowed lines). For these types of messages, the audience has sole and primary rights to confirm – which they do, right on cue (at double-arrowed lines).

[ex. 4.18] "You, you, you" ~ H. Clinton, Super Tuesday Speech
New York, NY – February 5, 2008

```
01    HCl:      [AFTER:,=SEVen year:s, of] a president who
02              listens O:Nly to the special interes:s. .hh
03           -> You're ready for a president(h) who brings
04           -> your voice, .hh your values and your dreams,
05           -> (.) to your, White House.
06    AUD: =>> ROAR-------------------------[-------------]
                |-          (11.2)          -|-   (2.1)   -|
07    HCl:                                    [And- tonight,]
```

[ex. 4.19] "You came, you believe" ~ B. Obama,
Feb 10, 2007 – Springfield, IL (Announce Cand)

```
01    Oba:      (>y'know<)=We All:: (1.2) eh:- made this
02              journey for a reason. (0.8) .mt .hh (1.2) It's
...             ... ((14 lines omitted)) ...
17    Oba:   -> You came here becau:se,=eh- (.) you belie:ve,
```

[148] And then we will return to this discussion later in the section, and again later in the chapter, when we discuss the implications of confirmation.

(.) in what this country can be.
AUD: =>> YYYEEEA[AAHHHHHhhhh[hhhh[hhhhhhhhh]
AUD: =>> [APPLAUSE---[clap[p i n g]
|- ((3.8)) -|
Oba: [In the fa]ce of war:,
-> (0.6) you believe there can be peace.
AUD: =>> YYEEAAHHHHhhhh[hhhhhh]
|- ((1.9)) -|
Oba: [In the] face of despair. (0.4)

-> .mt you belie:ve there can be hope.
(.)
AUD: =>> yyeeaahhh[hhhhhh]
|- ((2.3)) -|
Oba: [In the] fa:c:e, (.) of a politics,
-> that shut you ou:t? [(1.1) that's told you=
A/m: [( )
Oba: -> =to settle, (.) [.t (.) that's divided us for
A/m: [( )
-> too lon:g, (.) .t .hh you belie:ve we can be:-
One people.=[(0.9) reaching out for what's]=
A/m: [([ )
AUD: =>> [yeahs, cheers and applause]=
Oba: =[P(h)Ossible, (0.8) BUIL]ding that more
AUD: =>> =[cheers and applause] ((*3.9 total*))
Oba: perfect union.
AUD: whoops, [cheers and app[lause ((*very mild*))
Oba: |-1.3-| [-h- heh (0.4) [That's the journey
we're on today. (1.0) But let me tell you how I

These alternative relations are most evident if we exploit newly available technological innovations and advances. Although it was previously stated that broadcast versions were selected as the primary source for data (due to sound and video quality), analysis of home video (available to us via youtube and social media platforms) provides some additional insight into these exchanges – literally from the audience's perspective. Videos from an audience member's perspective picks up that these cheers are actually a cluster of different responses that – while obviously affiliative in character – also reflect more differentiated appreciations of what the speaker has proposed.

[ex. 4.20] "Your perspective" (tape g) ~
Feb 10, 2007 — Springfield, IL (Announce Cand.)

```
01    Oba:     (>y'know<)=We All:: (1.2) eh:- made this
02             journey for a reason. (0.8) .mt .hh (1.2) It's
...            ... ((14 lines omitted)) ...
17    Oba:  -> You came here becau:se,=eh- (.) you belie:ve,
18             (.) in what this country can be.
19    A/m: =>> [HE[LL YE[AH:!
20    AUD:     [APPLAUSE----------[clap[ p i n g ]
21    AUD:        [WOO::[::[::::[:[woo::
22    A/m: =>>          [YE[AH::!
                 |-          ((3.8))          -|
23    Oba:                            [In the fa]ce of war:,
24          -> (0.6) you believe there can be peace.
25    AUD:     [WOO::::::::::::::::::]
26    AUD:     [APPLAUSE-------------]=[applause
                 |-      ((2.4))      -|
27    Oba:          ((In the face of))=[despair. (0.4)]
28    A/m: =>>                   (YE)=[A::H::=
29    A/m: =>>                               =YEAH::!]
```

30 -> .mt you belie:ve there can be hope.
31 A/m: =>> AMEN!=[
32 A/m: =>> =[(yes we can!)=
33 AUD: =[APPLAUSE--------]
34 A/m: =>> =woo!=
35 A/m: =>> =WOO::!=
|- ((2.3)) -|
36 Oba: =In the fa:c:e,
37 -> (.) of a politics,that shut you ou:t? [(1.1)
38 A/m: [woo!
39 Oba: -> =that's told you=to sett[le, (.) .t (.) that's
40 A/m: [((*local talk, inaudible*))
41 -> divided us for too lon:g, (.) .t .hh you
42 -> belie:ve we can be:- One people.
43 AUD: [APPLAUSE--((and cheers))--------------------]=
44 AUD: [WOO::[::::
45 A/m: =>> [YE[AH::[=
46 Oba: |-(0.9)-|[reaching out for what's P(h)Ossible]=
47 A/m: =>> [YEA:H:=[
48 A/m: =>> =[woo:::!=
49 A/m: =>> =WOO!
50 Oba: =[(0.8)][BUILding that more perfect union.]
51 AUD: =[cheers][clapping-------------------------]
((*3.9 total*))
52 AUD: whoops, [cheers and app[lause ((*very mild*))
|- ((2.6)) -|
53 Oba: |-1.3-| [-h- heh (0.4) [That's the journey
54 we're on today. (1.0) But let me tell you how I

In the broadcast/televised version [above], the point at which the audience "confirms" the speaker's assertion, the audience can be heard whooping, cheering and applauding – even some screaming; but, the roar of the crowd drowns out any intelligibility of the individual screams. Analysis of this home video shows that these screams and cheers are actually clusters of different responses that, while obviously affiliative in character, also reflect more differentiated appreciations of these elements of the speech:

- 'whoops' and cheers from audience members (lines 34, 35, 48, and 49);
- several participants in the audience at various points confirm with "yeahs" (lines 22, 28, 29, 45 and 47);
- some even confirming with an upgraded version ("HELL YEAH" at line 19; "Amen!" at line 31)
- one participant even yelling the slogan, "Yes we can" on line 32;

thus, substantiating the claim that the audience sees these moments as places for them to 'confirm' what the speaker has just proposed about them/their belief(s)[149].

(Category-incumbent references) In very much the same way '*you*-formulations' express the perspective(s) of the audience – to which they have the sole right to confirm (or disconfirm), incumbent category formulations (sometimes '*they*-formulations') report the perspective of a particular group of persons – more often than not a particular segment of the voting public. As a selection of a population whose perspective is presented, (in having some relationship to the category referenced) the present audience has the right to confirm in the next turn. For example, following the Ohio Primary – while speaking *in Ohio*, Hillary references "the people of Ohio have said it…" (at lines 01–04). The co-present audience are

[149] Similar to what was noted just prior, in U.K. Party Conferences 'references' do not hold the same importance (A/ms in Party Conferences have only 1 relevant category at the moment – and that is handled by both the "I" formulations by the speaker (to which they can align/support) or "we" references (of which they are a part, so they can confirm or reject) nevermind differentiating confirmation versus agreement. And in the case of 'you' formulations, it is almost non-existent in previous research (in the context to which we refer). 'You' formulations in U.K. Party Conferences mainly use 'generic you' formulations, rather than 'confirmable *you*' formulations. For example, ex. 4.12 (where Benn addresses conflict in Conference), Benn's "if you have a veto" is a general reference (not a 'confirmable' in the same sense); in fact, there is not much of a basis for comparison it is one of the only 'you' formulations listed in prior research.

people “from Ohio” – in this context they ‘represent’ Ohio, so they have the right to confirm, and they have the right to confirm (in a supportive way) what their votes [may have] meant – which they do with a thunderous roar (at double arrowed line 05):

[ex. 4.21] “People of Ohio” ~ H. Clinton
Mar 4, 2008 — Columbus, OH (OH Primary, rally)

01 HCl: -> [THE PEOPL:E, (.) of Oh]io:, have said it
02 loudly:,and clearly. .mt we’re going o:n,
03 we’re going stro:ng, and we’re going A:LL:
04 THE WAY:.
05 AUD: =>> ROAR ((*CHEERS/WHISTLES AND APPLAUSE*))

And following the New Hampshire Primary – while speaking *in New Hampshire* – McCain references what “the people of New Hampshire have told us (again)…” (at arrowed lines 05–08). And although there is a little distancing again (e.g., “have told us…” and “do not send us…”; at lines 07/08, 14, 17, 21, 32 and 35) it does not deter the audience from responding.

[ex. 4.22] “People of NH” ~ J. McCain,
Jan 8, 2008 — Nashua, NH (NH Primary)

01 McC: .mt.hh Tonight, (0.4) we have taken a step. (.)
02 .hh but only the first step toward repairing
03 the broken politics of the pa:st,=and restoring
04 the trust of the American people. .mt.h in
05 -> their government. .hh The people of New
06 -> Hampshire have told us again. (.) .mt.hh that
07 -> they do not send us to Warshington to serve
08 -> o:ur self-interest, .h <but to serve their:s.>
09 -> [. *h h* =[They [don’t-
10 A/m: =>> [wo[oo!

```
11  A/m: =>>    [yeah!=[
12  AUD:              =[cheers[ROAR--((applause/cheers))---=
                       |-          ((4.0))          -|
13             =[roar ((mild))-------][clapping--------]
14  McC:  ->  [They don't- (0.2) Th][ey don't send us] to
15             fight each other for our own political
16             ambitions, (.) but to fight together our (0.3)
17          -> real enemies. .h They don't send us to
18             Warshington to stroke our egos, .hh to keep
19             this beautiful,- .hh=.hh!=d- b-=b- bountiful,
20             blessed country safe, prosperous and proud.
21          -> .mt.h They don't send us to Warshington to take
22             more of their money, and waste it (.) .hh on
23             things that add not an ounce to America's
24             strength and prosperity. .hh they don't help a
25             single family:, .mth! realize the dreams we all
26             dream for our children. That don't help a
27             single displaced worker find a new jo:b. .hh
28             and the security and dignity it assures them.
29             .mt.h that won't keep the promise we make to
30             young workers, .h that the retirement they have
31             begun to invest in will be there for them,
32          -> .mt.h when they need it. [.hh Th[ey DON'T, .h=
33  A/m:                                [w o o [o!
34  A/m:                                       [woo!
35  McC:  -> =they DON'T send us to Warshington to do their
36             jo:b, .h but to do (.) OUr:s.
37  A/m: =>> ri[ght.
38  AUD: =>>   [ROAR----[---((whoops, screams, applause))---
```

```
39    McC:                [My friends,
40    AUD: ->> =--------------------cheers-[clapping---------]
41    McC:                                  [My friends, (0.6)]
```

These 'categories' (and any subsequent 'they' references[150]) refer to a particular segment of the voting public – a way of generically referencing constituents. This is quite different from how they are referenced in U.K. Party conferences – especially in terms of how the audience *connects* with the reference/s or how they connect *with the speaker* as a result of the references. In U.K. Party Conferences, references to constituents (a) do not take this form (for the obvious reason that they are not [co-]present), and therefore (b) do not make relevant the same sort of response (i.e., confirmation over agreement). Rather, it is quite the opposite: references to constituents are made with a distancing third-person reference ("the people" and "our people") and as a part of a larger message about the party:

[ex. 4.23] (Labour: Tape2: Economic Policy: TonyBenn: ST)
reprinted from Heritage and Greatbatch, (4)

Benn: And indeed it was rather appropriate that
ITN was swinging from the stock market (.)
where they're gambling (.) with the wealth
of the nation
(.)
to Brighton where we represent the people
who create [(.) [the wealth of the nation.
Audience: [hear [hear
Audience: [Applause (13.2 seconds)

[150] Save for any complications that may arise from a mix-up in the use of pronouns on the party of the speaker that may cause complications for the audience's response (an example of which we will see later in this Chapter)

[ex. 4.24] (Liberals: Tape 7: Leader's Address: ST)
reprinted from Heritage and Greatbatch (7)

Steel: Our Prime Minister (0.7) is a woman who has
first (.) turned her ba:ck on those who
elected her,
(0.7)
and then had the nerve to claim that the
people are behind her.
(0.3)

Audience: Laughter. . . . .[. . . . .

Audience: [Applause (6.8 seconds)

[ex. 4.25] (GE: 79: 4B)
reprinted from Atkinson, (20)

Steel: >THE ↑TRUTH IS: BEGINNING TO ↑DAW:N ON OUR
↓PEOPLE THAT THERE ARE ↑TWO: CON↓SERVATIVE
↓PARTIES ↓IN ↓THIS ↓ELECTION< (0.6)
>↑ONE IS ↓OFFERING THE CONTIN:UATION OF THE
POLICIES ↓WE'VE ↓HAD ↓FOR ↓THE LAST< FIVE
↑YEARZ:
AND THE OTHER IS ↓OFFERING A RE↓TURN TO THE
↓POLICIES ↓OF FORTY YEARS=
=[AG↓O:

Audience: [eh-he[h-heh|- (8.0) -|

Audience: [X-xXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXxxx-

4.2.3 'OTHER' TYPES OF SEQUENCES (AND THEIR RESPONSES)

As previously mentioned, there is a freedom afforded to speakers to "set up" different [types of] sequences – and that the types of actions implicated in those sequences have consequences for the responses and social relations between parties. These 'other types' are in part made possible by the unique position of the speaker speaking *as an individual* which allows her to produce other types of sequences (e.g., consider how teases or compliments would work coming from one party member to another/others – they do not). In other words, for these types of sequences in particular, speakers shift the level of involvement by *personalizing* the encounter – producing actions that are 'person-to-person/s.'

Given what we know from previous research and the previous section/s on the types of response, and as the last excerpt shows us, although the turn-taking issues raised by Atkinson and Heritage & Greatbatch (production, recognition of unit packaging/completion) apply here, there are also things operating (action-formulation, sequencing) that not only organize and structure *when* the audience has the opportunity to participate, but *how*. Specifically, this 'freedom' afforded by the first position allows for the speaker [speaking as an individual] to produce more than just the 'applaudable messages' to generate more than just 'agreement/appreciation in the usual manner.' In each of these following excerpts, the speaker is building rapport with the audience – establishing something like an equal footing here that (as we will see) becomes consequential for the types of relations audience members can have with politicians.

(TEASING) The following comes from the opening of Barack Obama's speech to announce his candidacy for the President of the United States. After several minutes of music playing, cheering, clapping and chanting from the audience, and Obama walking around the stage, waiving to and greeting the crowd, he approaches the podium and attempts to begin his speech. As he begins with a greeting and 'thank yous' to the audience (lines 5/7), a portion of the audience does not stop their cheering and chanting (lines 6/9). Obama diverges slightly from his 'speech delivery' to tease that section of the audience (line 10).

[ex. 4.26] "Still chantin?" ~ B. Obama

Feb 10, 2007 – Springfield, IL (Announce Cand.)

```
01    Oba:    oh::. giv[ing- (0.9) oh:.=PRA:ise and honor
02    A/m:           [↑woo hoo!
03            to Go:d for bringin us toge[ther here today]
04    Aud:                              [cheers((mild))-]
05    Oba:    =[ t h a [nk you so much,
06    AUD:    =[cheers/[applause--------------[---------]
07             [very faint "chanting"---------[---------]
08    Oba:                                    [I am-, (.)
09            I am so grateful to see all of
10            =[yeuh,|- (0.7)  -|[hh-huh(h) .hh ((laughs))
09    AUD:     [O:-BA:-MA (.) O:-[BA:-MA: (.)O:-BA:-MA:
10    Oba:    .hh=You guys are still chantin' back there?
11    AUD:    ch[uckles
12              [ C H [E  E  R  S  →  c  h  e  e ] r  s
               |--          (7.2)                --|
13    A/m:      |(2.8)|[OBA:MA::!=
14    A/m:                      =WOO-HOOO!=       ]
15    A/m:                                =O.BA:MA,](1.1)|
16    Oba:    Let me::. (0.6) eh-Let me begin by saying
```

As noted in previous sections, when the audience is cheering and clapping and the speaker begins speaking, customarily the audience drops out. It is clear at this moment that Obama is about to begin his speech: he has stopped walking about the stage and approached the podium; he has thanked and greeted the audience. And yet, a portion of the audience has not stopped chanting, "O-BA-MA" – despite the fact that Obama has now been talking for

almost 30 seconds at this point (lines 01-07). When Obama notices this, he chuckles (line 08), and teases that portion of the audience for "still chantin" (line 10).

Several things get accomplished here. As previous research shows, teasing can be seen as treating themselves as familiar with one another (Drew, 1987:220), and by introducing such talk, a speaker may be initiating a move *into* interaction from a status he perceives as non-intimate so far (Jefferson, Schegloff, and Sacks, 1987:160). And by explicitly addressing the audience (framing the tease with "you guys"), his utterance makes relevant a confirmation from the audience – or at the very least some recognition; which the audience does right on cue. They immediately respond with cheers and laughter (lines 11-12/14), which exhibits recognition of the tease (Drew, 1987:222), but also by working off it, playing with it (Jefferson, Schegloff, and Sacks, 1987:168) through some subsequent chanting (lines 13/15). By opening the speech in this way, it invites active involvement from audience members by providing them with opportunities to engage in conversational exchanges with him – as further evidenced by this next example.

In the previous case, the response from the audience is prepared for or anticipated by the speaker (by initiating the sequence and setting up a place for the audience's confirmation/response to begin with); however, sometimes these 'other' [types of] responses instead intervene – but nevertheless show these can produce a more personal or intimate-like exchange *without being treated as disruptive*. Following the teasing exchange, the very next sequence involves some unanticipated responses from the audience. In this next case, Barack Obama sets up two separate combinations (at arrowed lines 21/28 and 30-34/44-45), which – although designed as two, single "two-part" units – gets some intervening responses from the audience (at double-arrowed lines 25 and 36). And rather than overlap the turns, he responds to these 'reciprocal teases' with chuckles.

((previously seen as 4.19, where 17 lines were omitted))

[ex. 4.27] "You didn't come here just for me" ~ B. Obama

Feb 10, 2007 — Springfield, IL (Announce Cand.)

```
01    Oba:     oh:::. giv[ing- (0.9) oh::.=PRA:ise and honor
02    A/m:              [↑woo hoo!
03             to Go:d for bringin us toge[ther here today,=
04    AUD:                                 [((mild)) cheers=
05    Oba:     =[ t h a [nk you so much, |-    (0.8)    -|]
06    AUD:     =[cheers-[applause ((and faint "chanting"))]
07    Oba:     I am-, I am so grateful to see all of=
08             =[yeuh,|- (0.7)  -|[hh-huh(h) ((laughs))
09    AUD:      [O:-BA:-MA (.) O:-[BA:-MA: (.) O:-BA:-MA:
10    Oba:     .hh =You guys are still chantin' back there?
11    AUD:     ch[uckles
12               [CHEERS[cheers----------------------------
               |-                  (7.2)                  -|
13    A/m:     |-(2.8)-|[OBA:MA::!=
14    A/m:                        =WOO-HOOO!=       ]
15    A/m:                                  =OBA:MA,]|(1.1)|
16    Oba:     Let me::. (0.6) eh-Let me begin by saying
17             thanks:(z), (0.4) to all=of=yeh. (0.3) .t!
18             who've travelled, from far and wide, .hh to
19             bra:ve(h), (.) the cold today,
20    AUD:     yeah:[::s/whoops/chuckles  ((mild)) ]
21    Oba: ->  (1.1)[I know it's a little chilleh',]
22             (0.2)
23    A/m:     w[oo::!
24    A/m:      [woo::!
25    A/m: ->> (It's a treat!)
```

```
26    AUD:     ((laughter, very mild; a few cheers))
27    Oba:   * ((grins, dips head down, and laughs silently))
28         ->  But I'm fired up,
29    AUD:     whoops/cheers and applause/whistles
               |-    (3.1)    +      (2.0)      -|
30    Oba: ->  (>y'know<)=We All:: (1.2) eh:- made this
31         ->  journey for a reason. (0.8) .mt .hh (1.2) It's
32         ->  humblin:g, (0.9) to see a crowd like this, (.)
33         ->  .mt .hh (.) eh-but in my heart I know: you
34         ->  didn't just come here(h), (0.7) for me.
35             (0.4)
36    A/m: ->> HAHA YEAH WE [DID!
37    Oba: ->>              [you- you- no::,
38    A/m: ->> yeah we d[i:[::d!=
39    AUD:              [la[ughte{r/mild applause---------]
40    A/m: ->>             [yeah {we did!=[
41    Oba:   *                  ={grins widely, dips head
          *                        down, then pans AUD----]
42    A/m: ->>                          =[yeah we did!
43    AUD:                              =[(            )]
44    Oba: ->  You came here becau:se,=eh- (.) you belie:ve,
45             (.) in what this country can be.
46    AUD:     YYYEEEAAAHHHHHhhhhhhhhh and APPLAUSE
```

Obama first thanks the audience for the distances travelled and enduring the cold weather. He acknowledges that it's chilly, which contrasts with the fact that he's "fired up" (lines 21 then 28). However, before he can deliver that contrasting component, an audience member responds by teasing that the cold weather 'is a treat!' (at line 25) – to which Obama acknowledges with a visible chuckle (line 27) before delivering the contrasting second part.

Another intervening response from an audience member starts at line 30. When Obama moves on to the next compound unit, he gets even more resistance and teasing from the audience. When he postulates that the audience "didn't just come here for me" (lines 31-34), the negative formulation projects a contrastive part to follow (the positive formulation) – the reason they came. However, on its own, "You didn't come just to see me" is an admission – it amounts to a form of self-deprecation; and it is exactly on this basis that it is intersected and rejected by the audience. When the first audience member interjects ("haha yeah we did!" at line 36), Obama responds much more explicitly than the previous tease (line 27) by abandoning his current stream of talk ("you- you-") then adding a 'po-faced' rejection ("no::,") at line 37. When the crowd insists (other audience members reiterate, "yeah we di:::d!" at line 38 and 40; while others in the audience laugh and applaud at line 39), Obama only laughs (line 41). By rejecting his self-deprecating remark, this positions them as supporters.

However, not all 'teases' are produced or responded to equally. Take for example, the following from McCain's rally following the South Carolina Primary. McCain teases the audience about this victory having come after having twice failed ("what's 8 years among friends, heh?" at arrowed lines 06–07). However, there are two issues with this tease. First, rather than place the tease as the preliminary unit of a compound unit (which would then get a calibrated/preliminary response), the unit is placed as an extension of a just produced (boastful) unit. Second, the unit it follows celebrates a victory that he attributes to them ("bringing us across…" at lines 01 - 03); so in noticing the shortcomings of the two previous primaries, it could be perceived as commentary that the victory is somehow overdue – and therefore in some way their fault (or at the very least "not his"). Despite this, a good portion of the audience laughs – some even applaud (at line 08).

[ex. 4.28] “What’s 8 years” (simplified) ~ J. McCain

Jan 19, 2008 – Charleston, SC (Rally)

```
01    McC:     Thank you, South Carolina, for bringing us
02             across the finish line first in the first-
03             in-the-South primary.
04    AUD:     chEERS/APPLAUSE--cheers----cl[apping-----
05    McC:                                  [Y’know-
06          -> You know, it took us a while, but what's
07             eight years among friends, heh?
08    Aud: =>> laughter/applause (light)
09    McC:     What it really did, what it really did:
10             It just gave us the opportunity to spend
11             more time in this beautiful state. to talk
12             with you and listen to you, and to come to
13             admire all the more the deep patriotism of
14             South Carolinians, [who have sacrificed so
15    Aud:                       [shouts of ‘yeah!’
16    McC:     [much
17    AUD:     [applause/chee[rs-------clapping----]=
18    McC:                   [to defend our country]=
19             [its enemies. My friends it’s a great
20    Aud:     [clapping---
21    McC:     privilege to have come to know so many of
22             you, and I’m very grateful for and humbled
23             by the support you have given our campaign.
24             Thank you. Thank you especially, for braving
25             the very un-South Carolina like weather
26             today and you came out to exercise the first
27             responsibility of an American, not just
```

```
28              those South Carolinians who voted for us,
29              but all of you who voted today for the
30              candidate you believe is best and is suited
31              to lead the country you love.
32    AUD:      CHEERS/APPLAUSE--------------cheers-------=
33              =applause--[--clapping---------
34    McC:                 [I think I can speak- I think I
35              can speak for all the Republican candidates
36           -> when I say South Carolinians are never just
37           -> fair weather friends.
38    AUD: =>> woahs--cheers/applause---------
```

And as we will see later in this section, though 'successful' (it gets a laugh) this teasing sequence contributes to a problematic uptake (i.e., slightly mixed reactions) of what comes just moments later: a *compliment* (at lines 34–37/38).

(COMPLIMENTS). Complimenting the audience can be accomplished in various ways. Regardless of which way, however, compliments are coupled with or wrapped up in other tasks[151], and typically involves an expression or anecdote that shows the audience, their behavior, and/or their perspective in a favorable light. For example:

- in ex. 4.14: Obama retells some events in our country's history, and in the process compliments the courage and strength of the American people who in the face of great challenges "unified a nation … put people back to work … welcomed immigrants, landed a man on the moon" and the civil rights battle (lines 17-29); that "each and every time a new generation has risen up and done what's needed to be

[151] This may have something to do with what Pomerantz (1978) argues is the reason people frequently do not accept compliments. She argues that although it is a supportive action and an assessment, agreeing with it would in essence accept it; which gets complicated by the fact that the preference for agreement (Sacks 1973/1987; Pomerantz, 1984) clashes with the dispreference for self-praise This, however, would require more investigation into this particular environment.

done. As incumbents of that category, this praise extends to them (as in: 'good for you/us, the American people');

- in ex. 4.15: in describing the party whose nomination he seeks, McCain compliments the members of the [Republican] party for their belief in "the strength, industry, and goodness of the American people" (lines 2-3) – which, by extension, is also a compliment to the audience as they are members of that party [with those beliefs] and also as those "American people"; and he compliments them further when he talks of the qualities of the party in a favorable light ("fiscal discipline, enduring values … that encourages enterprise and ingenuity … who know best how to advance America's economy and secure the dreams that have made us the greatest nation in history" (at lines 19-26));
- in ex. 4.19: in recounting their journey [to that moment], Obama's set of 'confirmables' also compliments the audience for their beliefs: "you believe in what this country can be … peace, hope, that we can be one people" (lines 17-39) – which compliments their optimism and outlook.
- in ex. 4.27: during Obama's thanks and appreciation (for the audience), commending "all of you, who travelled from far and wide to brave the cold today" (lines 16-19)' not only thanks them for their support but also praises them for their efforts to be a part of the occasion;

As these (and the teasing sequences) begin to make evident, these 'other' types of sequences are typically formulated as either preliminary to or somehow a subordinate or ancillary – and these are not the only ones.

(Storytelling). Stories in campaign rally speeches differ slightly from those of ordinary conversation. One major difference[152] is in the structure of the set-up. Stories in campaign rallies do not need a preface that turns off the turn-taking mechanism (where participants

[152] The minor differences will have to wait for a more detailed analysis of more stories.

align as story recipients; see Jefferson, 1978) – the turn-taking system takes care of that; nor is it necessary for a preface to give indications for proper reception or an ending that signals completion (and the resumption of turn-by-turn talk) – the participation framework takes care of that [issue]. In other words, the pre-specified institutional framework takes care of many of the contingencies surrounding 'telling a story.'

Despite this, however, as previously noted, speakers cannot merely speak for an infinite amount of time, nor can they speak of things that are irrelevant for the goals/aims of the occasion – audiences will not sit indefinitely listening to a story. Additionally, the range of possibilities for *how* an audience can respond to a story is quite limited (compared with ordinary conversation) – it limits the use of stories in campaign rallies. So, as we will see later in the chapter, the thing about stories is that – just like teasing and compliments – they do not stand-alone as an applaudable item; they are inextricably bound to some other element of a speech – to an applaudable. In other words, stories get used to *do* something else. So, a story can be relatively brief – a shortened anecdote or summary of a prior experience (as with ex. 4.29 below) that can couple with compliments in a speaker's show of appreciation or expression of gratitude; or they can be quite extensive and detailed in the retelling of a single event (as with ex. 4.30 below) as a metaphor and a source for inspiration (or, in this specific case, as a lead-in for an eventual call-and-response):

[ex. 4.29] "Jacksonville, my home" ~ J. McCain
Apr 3, 2008 – Jacksonville, FL (rally)

01 McC: As many of you know for many years in my
02 life I lacked a fixed address of any
03 significant length of time. Jacksonville
04 came closer to being a hometown for me than
05 any place in the country. My family lived
06 here before I went to war, and this is the
07 place I came home to after the Vietnam War.

We lived here again in 1974 for two years, when I was Executive Officer, and then Commanding Officer of VA 174, right here at Cecil Field as you may recall the Replacement Air Group. So it always feels a bit like a homecoming whenever I return here. And I thank you for your warm welcome.

AUD: APPLAUSE

McC: My friends this place was never more special to me than during my unexpectedly long deployment overseas, when the good people of this place looked after my family in my absence. I have always always been indebted to Florida friends and neighbors in Orange Park for taking such good care of my family while I was away. Our neighbors in Orange Park, many of whom, but not all, were Navy families, were extraordinarily kind and generous while I was in Vietnam. They were the mainstay of my family's support. They helped with the maintenance of our home, took my children to sporting events, offered whatever counsel and support was needed, and generally helped keep my family together, body and soul, until I could get back to them. They were nothing less than an extended family to my family, and their love and concern were as much a mark of their good character as it was a

blessing to the people they helped. My son Andy and Doug- sons Andy and Doug were young, my daughter Sydney was an infant when I first left for Vietnam. She did not know me, or I her very well when I returned many years later to find a brightful and cheerful, a bright and cheerful six year old little girl waiting for me. I too was a different person when we were reunited ...
((continues on about the perils of war...))

[ex. 4.30] "Fired Up, Ready To Go" ~ B. Obama
Nov 4, 2008 – Manassas, VA (Election Day Eve)

Oba: In this campaign I've had the privilege to witness what is best in America. In the stories, in the faces, of men and women that I've met in countless rallies, town hall meetings, VFW halls, living rooms, diners, all across America. Men and women shared with me their stories, and spoke of their struggles; but they also spoke of their hopes and their dreams. Their love for their children; their sense of obligation and debts to be paid to earlier generations. Now I met one of those women in Greenwood, South Carolina. It was back early when we were way back in the polls. Nobody gave us much of a chance back then. I had gone to South

Carolina early in the campaign to see what I could stir up in the way of endorsements, and I was at a legislative dinner sitting next to a state representative that I really wanted to endorse me. So I turned to her and I said "I really want your endorsement."

Aud: chuckles

Oba: And she looked at me and she said "I'll tell you what, Obama, I will give you my endorsement if you come to my hometown of Greenwood, South Carolina." I must have had a sip of wine or something that night because right away I said "Okay. I'm coming."

AUD: laughter

Oba: So the next time I come to South Carolina it's about a month later. We fly in about midnight. We get to the hotel about one o'clock. I'm exhausted. I'm dragging my bags to my room when I get a tap on my shoulder and I look back and it is one of my staff people who says "Senator we need to be out of the hotel by 6 a.m." I say "Why is that?"

Aud: mild chuckles

Oba: He says "because we have to go to Greenwood, like you promised."

Aud: chuckles

Oba: So the next morning I wake up and I feel terrible,

Aud: mild chuckles

Oba: and I think I am coming down with a cold, my back is sore, I feel worse than when I went to bed. I open up the curtains in the hotel room to get some sunlight in and hopefully wake me up, but it's pouring down rain.

Aud: chuckles

I go outside my room and get the New York Times, and there is a bad story about me in the New York Times. I go downstairs after I pack, and my umbrella blows open and I get soaked, so by the time I get in the car I am mad, I am wet and I am sleepy.

Aud: chuckles

Oba: We drive, and we drive, and we drive. It turns out that Greenwood is about an hour and a half from everywhere else.

Aud: Laughter

Oba: Finally we get to Greenwood. We pull up against- First of all you do not know you're in Greenwood when you get to Greenwood, there aren't a lot of tall buildings in Greenwood. We pull off to a small building — a little field house in a park — and we go inside, and low and behold, after an hour and a half drive, turns out there are 20 people there.

Aud: chuckles

Oba: Twenty people. And they look all kind of

damp and sleepy, maybe they aren't really
excited to be there either.
Aud: chuckles
Oba: But you know I am a professional, I've got
to do what I've gotta do. So I'm going
around, and I'm- I'm shaking hands,
[I am saying "How [are you doing? What are]=
Aud: [(low) cheers-----[cheers----------]=
Oba: =[you doing?"
Aud: =[cheers--------{------[---------[---------
Oba: {*puts hand up*
[wait=wait=wait. As I
go around the room suddenly I hear this
voice cry out behind me "fired up." I'm
shocked. I jumped up. I don't know what is
going on. But everyone else acts as though
this were normal and they say "fired up."
Then I hear this voice say "ready to go."
And the 20 people in the room act like this
happens all the time and they say "ready to
go".
... ((*27 lines omitted*))
Oba: Here's the thing Virginia, after a minute
or so, I'm feeling kinda fired up.
AUD: [chuckles---[
[mild cheers[cheers--[-CHEERS-{----cheers--=
Oba: [I'm- {*puts hand up*
AUD: =cheers--[----------
Oba: [I'm feelin like I'm ready to go.

127 AUD: cheers

128 Oba: So I join in the chant. And it feels good!

... ((*18 lines omitted*))

145 Oba: somehow I felt a little lighter, I felt a

146 little better. I'd see my staff I'd say 'Are

147 you fired up?" "They say "I'm fired up boss,

148 you ready to go?" [I'd say I'm ready to go!

149 Aud: [chuckles----mild cheers-=

150 =mild cheers--[---------low cheers--------

151 Oba: [>Here-=here-=here's-=here-

152 here's my point, Virginia. That's how this

148 thing started. It shows you what one voice

149 can do.

150 A/m: Tha[t's ri[ght!

152 A/m: [woo:::[::

151 Aud: [cheers (mild)-[-------------]=

152 Oba: [One voice can change a room]=

153 Aud: =[(mild)----------=cheers------=

154 Oba: [And if [a voice can change a room]

155 Aud: =[cheers-[(mild)-------------------]=

156 Oba: [it can change a city]=

157 Aud: =[(mild)---------------=cheers=

158 Oba: [and if [it can change a city]

159 Aud: =[cheers-[(mild)--------------]=

160 Oba: [it can change a state,]

161 Aud: =[(mild)----------------]=cheers=

162 Oba: [and if [it can change a state,]

163 Aud: =[cheers----------]=

164 Oba: [it can change a nation.]

165 Aud: =[cheers----------]=CHEERS----

166 Oba: [and if it can change a nation,

167 Aud: =[CHEERS----------]=

168 Oba: [it can change the world.]

169 Aud: =[CHEERS----------]=ROAR----CHEERS=

170 =CHEERS---[cheers----------]=

171 Oba: [VIRGINIA, YOUR VOICE CAN CHANGE]

172 [THE WORLD TOMORROW.

173 AUD: =[cheers----------CHEERS----------=

174 Oba: [IN TWENTY [ONE HOURS,

175 AUD: =[cheers----[(mild)------(low)---[------

176 Oba: [IN TWENTY

177 ONE HOURS. IF YOU ARE WILLing. If you are

178 willing to en endure some rain, if you are

179 willing to drag yer- that person you know

180 who is not going to vote, to the polls. If

181 you are willing to organize and volunteer in

182 the offices, if you are willing to stand

183 with me, [if you are willing to fight with]

184 Aud: [*murmurs/low cheers*----------]=

185 Oba: [me,[I know your voice will matter.]

186 Aud: =[---[(mild) cheers----------]=

187 =cheers---[----------(low)---------]

188 Oba: [So I've just got one question]

189 [for you Virginia,

189 AUD: =[(low)-------------[----]

190 Oba: [ARE YA FIRED UP?

191 AUD: [FIRED UP]

192 [cheers-----[-----

193 Oba: [ARE YA READY TO GO.

194 AUD: [READY TO GO

195 [cheers----------

196 Oba: FIRED UP

197 AUD: FIRED UP

198 Oba: READY TO GO

199 AUD: READY TO GO

200 Oba: FIRED UP

201 AUD: FIRED UP

202 Oba: READY TO GO

203 AUD: READY TO GO

204 Oba: FIRED UP

205 AUD: FIRED UP

206 Oba: READY TO GO

207 AUD: READY TO GO

208 Oba: Virgina let's go change the world. [Thank

209 AUD: [CHEERS

210 Oba: [you. Goed Bless you, and God Bless the]=

211 AUD: [CHEERS--------------------------------]

212 OBA: [United States of America.

In campaign rallies, because the audience cannot uptake or respond to them in the way that is relevant for ordinary conversation, stories and the other 'alternatives' are used to *do* other things. In other words, these [teases, compliments, stories, etc.] are not the primary units to which audiences will respond but rather used in the service of pursuing agreement,

confirmation, or affiliation. This is in part due to conflicts in preference (as noted for teases in footnote 10), but perhaps more importantly these minor sequences (if produced as a stand-alone) do not provide a way for audiences to respond in a way that also falls within the scope of 'preferred' actions for campaign rallies[153] (notice that in the above story, there is no uptake at the story's completion – save for a few chuckles that turn into very low cheers (at lines 149–150); cheers that the speaker immediately overlaps in order to explicitly produce an upshot (at line 151)). This can account for some compliments failing to elicit a response when delivered as a stand-alone rather than a preliminary (e.g., ex. 4.28 when McCain compliments South Carolinians as "never just fair weather friends" at lines 34–37; the initial response from the audience is delayed and mixed[154] at best).

But so far the discussion has been based on the design of the speaker's turn, and the implications those turns have for the audience's corresponding response. The following section will take a look at some of the same sorts of issues, but base the analysis on the varied responses from the audience.

4.2.3 THE AUDIENCE'S VARIED RESPONSES

In the following cases, rather than focus on the design of the speaker's turn/s, the analysis [regarding confirmation] will be grounded in the varied responses that are entirely unique to campaign rally speeches[155]. In fact, the varied responses (described in Chapter 2) are *only*

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[153] Of course there is the occasional exception – as with the return teasing by the aud (in ex. 4.20)

[154] As previously mentioned, this particular case does have some complication/s. Prior to this particular compliment McCain 'teases' the audience about the (possibly) overdue victory. Although a good portion of the audience laughs, the potential for that comment to be viewed as a back-handed compliment can be seen in the audience's response to this subsequent compliment. Following that initial tease, McCain teases them about the weather, compliments them for going out to vote, then attempts to compliment them again. However, the negative formulation ("never just fair weather friends" adds to the complexity of this unit (What is this – another one like the last?); this (possible) double-take by the audience is evidenced by the delay, and the possible "misinterpretation" evidenced by some of the audience expressing "woahs" (at line 38) prior to the start of the applause.

[155] Including those intended for broadcast (e.g., press conferences) and other appearances or speaking engagements where there is a live/targeted audience and the candidate gives prepared remarks in pursuit of applause (e.g., fundraisers, keynote addresses to special interest groups, prepared remarks before a town hall event, etc.). Chants, confirmations through repeats, and the other verbalizations discussed in Chapter 2 do not have a home in any of these other environments.

possible in campaign rallies[156]; in part, it is what makes them recognizable as rally events (recall Chapter 1).

The previous sections lay out how it is that speakers set up for or make relevant various responses (e.g., confirmation rather than agreement). The following section will take a different look by laying out how audiences can demonstrate their understanding of what a speaker's turn has made relevant (i.e., confirmation) by showing appreciation 'not in the usual manner.' In this section, the responses have implications – the verbalizations from the audience *ratify* the assertion made by the speaker. This is evident in the ways they display their understanding that confirmation is relevant through a range of *verbalizations* that come after a round of cheers that have already 'done confirming.' These can be a result of slow and gradual build up (i.e., mutually monitoring type) of emerging chants or a series of responses to a speaker's assertion – that either come as echoes or as choral co-productions; or these can come as a bursts (i.e., independent decision type) – that either come as a one-time confirmation/repeat or a one-time choral-co-production.

(Verbalizations: Emerging Chants) During Obama's rally following the South Carolina Primary, he boasts about "their" campaign's accomplishments (a list of three: "… most votes, most delegates, and the most divers coalition…" at lines 01–12). Each item in the list of three gets a set of calibrated cheers – which amount to the confirmation/s made relevant by his collective reference ("we have…" at line 05). These cheers do the confirming, but then chants (of "race doesn't matter!' from lines 15–24) emerge out of them that do 'something more'[157].

[156] Of course this does not mean only 'election campaign rallies'; 'campaign rallies' here includes the various rallies referenced in Chapter 2

[157] We mentioned in Chapter 1 that we would take up this notion that emerging chants do 'something more' – here is the payoff to that.

((as previously seen as ex. 2.27))

[ex. 4.31] “Race Doesn’t Matter” ~ B. Obama

Jan 26, 2008 – Columbia, SC (Primary Rally)

01 Oba: [After FOUR:::, (0.4)] after four great
02 contests. (0.6) in every corner of this
03 country.
04 A/ms: ([ )]
05 Oba: |-(0.9)-|[we] ha::ve the most votes:,
06 Aud: yeah/mi[ld cheers-----(1.7)]--=
07 Oba: |(0.6)|[the most delegates,]
08 AUD: =[CHEERS/APPLAUSE----cheers/applause((6.1))
09 Oba: and the most diverse coalition of
10 Americ[ans that we've seen in a long]=
11 AUD: [roAR-------------------------]= ↰
12 Oba: =[long time. ((8.8))
13 AUD: =[ROAR---------((6.2))---CHEERS----]= |
14 =[CHEERS---cheers/app[lause-------- ↵
15 -> [°race doesn’t matter!
16 -> (.)° race doesn’t matter! (.) race doesn’t
17 -> MATTER! (.) RACE DOESN’T MATTER! (.) RACE
18 -> DOESN’T MATTER! (.) RACE DOESN’T MATTER! (.)
19 -> RACE DOESN’T MATTER! (.) RACE DOESN’T MATTER!
20 -> (.) {RACE DOESN’T MATTER! (.) RACE DOESN’T
21 Oba: {*raises arms, palms facing down*
22 AUD: -> MATTER! (.) race doesn’t ma[tter (.) °race=
23 Oba: [THERR:::,
24 AUD: -> =doesn’t matt[er°
25 Oba: [You can see it in the faces here

As previously mentioned (in Chapter 2), the chants that emerge from bouts of cheers (or roars) reflect the audience's take on what the speaker has proposed. Obama has just boasted about having won the Primary ("most votes, most delegates…" at lines 05–06). In and of itself, winning a four-state primary is cause for celebration; but Obama adds a third item to that list: boasting about one of the campaign's best accomplishments (which is also part of the reason for its success – recall the voting statistics): the most diverse coalition seen in a long time (at lines 09–10). After confirming/celebrating, the audience produces the upshot to that claim – displaying their understanding by adding that 'race doesn't matter' (at lines 15–22). This not only addresses the strength of the coalition, but also the issue of 'race' that had been prevalent theme the entire campaign.

In a similar vein, when McCain boasts about his comeback on the campaign trail (recall ex. 4.06), the audience responds with a roar (starting at line 12) – out of which emerges some chants of "Mac is Back" (at lines 17–24). This upshot, however, reflects the 'perspective formulation' of the unit to which they respond: he boasts about *his* campaign, the upshot that the audience produces (or chants) is a celebration *of him* rather than the campaign ("comback" → "Mac is back!" at lines 17–24).

((as previously seen as ex. 4.06))

[ex. 4.32] "Don't worry John" ~ J. McCain,
Jan 8, 2008 – Nashua, New Hampshire (NH Primary)

```
01    McC:     My friends, (0.3) you know-, .mt I'm past
02             the age when I can claim the noun,
03             ki:d(h),=.h! no matter what adjective
04             precedes it.
05    AUD:     chuck[les--[--
06    A/m:     (0.8)[woo!=
07    A/m:   * |-(1.0) -|=[DO:N['T WORRY  JO:]:HN!
08    McC:  -> |-   (1.5)    -|[But toni:ght,](0.2) we
```

09 su::re showed them what a=

10 =>> =comeba[ck looks like. [*nnnn hnh hnh hnh*]

11 A/m: [yyyeeeaaaahhhhh

12 AUD: [ROAR----------] |

13 McC: =>> =[*hnh hnh hnh hnh hnh hnh hnh* (1.6)]= |

14 AUD: =[ROAR----------]=((9.0))

15 McC: =>> =[*hnh hnh hnh hnh hnh* ((3.0)) |

16 AUD: =[ROAR----------[---------- __

17 AUD: [mac. is. back. |

18 AUD: back (.) MAC. IS. BACK. (.) MA[C. IS. BACK.|

19 McC: [°Thank you.° |

20 AUD: (.) MAC. IS. B[ACK. (.) MAC. IS. BACK. (.) |

21 McC: [Th<u>a</u>:nk you:. ((10.0))

22 AUD: [MAC. IS. BACK. (.) MAC. is. [back. (.) |

23 McC: [THAnk yo<u>u:</u>. [WHEN THE |

24 °mac. is. ba[ck° ((*19.0total*))

25 McC: =P<u>UN</u>DINTS:, (.) [when the pundints declared

26 us finished I told them:, .mt .*h* (.) "I'm

27 going to New Hampshire, where the voters

28 don't let [you make their decision for=

29 A/m: [woo:::::!

30 McC: -> =th[em," .m*hhh*={*"holds":::::::::::::::::::*]=

still posture, mouth open

31 A/m: * [That's [rig{ht!]

32 A/m: * [Yea{h!]

33 A/m: * [({)]RIGHT!=

34 AUD: =chEERS/APPlause]=

|- (1.9) -|

35 =[cheers/applause][c[lapping----------]

36 McC: [And when they][a[s:ked, (.) "how you]

37 A/m: [woo!

38 Aud: =[clapping----]

39 McC: =[gonna do it,] You're down in the

40 p(*h*)olls,=You don't have the money"=I

41 answered, .*hh* "I'm going to New Hampshire,

42 .*h* and I'm going to tell people the

43 tru::th:."

44 A/m: YE[AH:::

45 AUD: [ROAR/APPLAUSE---CHEERS--cheers][clapping

46 McC: =>> |- (8.0) -|[We came

Regardless of the perspective from which the confirmables are made, the emerging chants display a claim by the audience that the sentiment they are confirming is one that was held *independent* of the speaker's formulation (and their subsequent confirmation of) it. So the audience is demonstrating some alignment with the speaker and his assertion (by confirming it with cheers), the chanting is asserting some independence on the matter/s – *from the second position.*

(Verbalizations: Confirming with a Repeat/Echo) In this type, speakers produce a set of problems (formulated as 'confirmables') that turn out to be a series of pairs where the second item (the 'answer' or 'solution') is identical – an identical phrase – for each item. After confirming the first [item/answer], then picking up on the pattern in the second set, the audience shifts their mode of confirming from 'cheers/applause' to 'vocalizations' that repeat the identical phrase. When repeating, audiences can echo the sentiments (as with ex. 4.33) or they can produce the phrase chorally with the speaker (as with ex. 4.34)

((as previously seen as ex. 2.33))

[ex. 4.33] "Yes we can ECHO" ~ B. Obama

Jan 08, 2008 – Nashua, NH (Rally)

((*first 21 lines omitted, but can be seen in 1.32*))

01 Oba: For when we have faced down impossible
02 o:dds:. (0.9) when we've been to:ld we're
03 not readeh. (0.4) or that we shouldn't
04 try:, (0.2) or that we ca:n't(h). (0.5)
05 generations of Americans have responded.
06 .h with a simple creed(h). that sums up
07 the spirit. of a people. (0.9) Yes,=we ca:n.
... ((*14 lines omitted – a set if chants that*
emerge from line 07, as seen in 2.32))
22 Oba: =[It was a cree::d written into the
23 founding documents:. (0.4) that
24 decla:red the destineh, (.) of a nation.
25 (0.6) Yes,=we can.
26 (0.2)
27 A/m: ([ )
28 A/m: [([ )
29 Aud: [che[ers--
30 Oba: |- (0.8) -|[It was whispered by sla:ves
31 and abolitionists. as they bla:zed a trai:l
32 towards freedom. (0.3) through the darkest
33 of nights:. [(0.5) [Yes,=we can.]
34 Aud: [claps-[--
35 Aud: [°cheers°-----]cheers--=
36 AUD: =ch[eers---°cheers°]
37 Oba: [.hh It was su]:ng by immigrants:, as

38 they struck out. from distant sh<u>o</u>r:es='en

39 pioneers, .h who pushed w<u>e</u>stward(t), (.)

40 against an unforgiving wilderness:, (0.6)

41 -> Yes,=we can.

42 AUD: =>> y:<u>:e</u>s: we: c<u>a:</u>n:.

((as previously seen as ex. 2.34))

[ex. 4.34] "But they haven't" ~ M. Romney

Jan 15, 2008 — Southfield, MI (MI Primary)

01 Aud: [clapping----------]

02 Rom: [You see- (0.9) America-, (0.2)] America

03 undershtands, (0.2) .mt that Washin(g)ton

04 has promised .h that they'd secure our

05 -> borders. .hh But they haven't.

06 A/m: Right.=

07 A/m: =no=

08 A/m: =y[eah

09 A/m: [right

10 Rom: [>Washin'[ton< told us that they

11 A/m: [right!

12 Rom: would=uh live by high ethical st<u>a</u>ndards.

13 A/m: =>> But they h<u>a</u>[ven't!

14 Rom: -> [But [they haven't.

15 Aud: =>> [they haven't! ((staggered))

16 Rom: Washin'n told us thet they'd fix social

17 sec<u>ur</u>ity,

18 AUD: ->> BUT [T H E Y H A]VEN'T!=

19 Rom: -> [But they haven't] (0.6)=Wash'n'n told

```
20            us thet .h! they'd get us better health care
21          * 'n better education. (.) [But they haven't.
22    AUD:  *                          [BUT THEY HAVEN'T!
23    Rom:    Wash'n=told us they'd us get a tax break for
24            the middle income Americans.=
25    A/m:    =[(  [     )
26    Rom:  *   (.)[But they haven't
27    AUD:  *      [But they haven't
28    Rom:    Washin'=told=us thet they'd cut back on the
29            ear marks and pork barrel spending, .h=
30    Rom:  * =[But they haven't
31    AUD:  *  [B u t  t h e y  [haven't
32    A/m:                     [(they lied)=
33    Rom:                                 =And Washin'=
34            =told us they'd reduce our dependence on
35            foreign oil,=
36    ( ):                =(    [ ) ((child screaming))
37    Rom:  *              (0.2)[B[ut they haven't
38    AUD:  *                   [B u t  t h e y  haven't
39    Rom:    And who's going to get the job done?
40    Rom:  * [We are. (.) We are!
41    AUD:  * [WE ARE! [(.) W E  A [R E!
42    AUD:             [cheers-----[CHEERS/APPLAUSE------=
                                   |-     ((3.6))     -|
43            =-[---------------------------------
```

In contrast to [most] chants, in this type of verbalization speakers provide the timing and the content for the production for the audience ahead of time – over time (over a series of productions of the identical phrasing). This results in a verbalizations has a slow build up before maximum production or the peak of the verbalization is achieved; which indicates

that these types of responses – though entirely affiliative (and then some) – are on some level a mutual monitoring type of response.

(Verbalizations: Confirming with a 'burst') The strongest case of group cohesion as demonstrated by confirmation [through repeats] – and the most striking as well as the most unique to this occasion – are verbalizations that come immediately, with a burst, as a result of hundreds (if not thousands) of audience members independently reaching the same conclusion to produce the same conclusion at the very same time (i.e., no lag, no slow build up). These are the strongest because it shows that they are in synch (by producing the response in synch) – that they reached the same conclusion 'at the same time.' These can be sentiments that 'echo' the speakers ("yes we can" → "yes we can") or choral co-productions (i.e., produced at the same time as the speaker's initial production of the unit rather than 'along with a subsequent one'). These displays can be especially powerful at the speech's completion – as previously mentioned are the culmination of unit, of a larger group of units, of the speech/occasion itself[158].

[ex. 4.35] "Yes we can" (simplified) ~ B. Obama
Jan 26, 2008 – South Carolina (SC Primary)

01	Oba:	There are those who will tell- who will
02		continue to tell us that we can't do this,
03		that we can't have what we're looking for,
04		that we can't have what we want, that
05		we're peddling false hopes.
06	Aud:	[shouts/boos ((mild))---]
07	Oba:	[But here's what I know.] I know that
08		when people say we can't overcome all the

[158] And as we will see later in the chapter, can be especially powerful in demonstrating the 'coming together' of a group of individuals, and can be a powerful tool at the end of speeches to shift momentum from 'the moment' to social action outside the event itself.

big money and influence in Washington, I think of that elderly woman who sent me a contribution the other day for a money order for three dollars and one cent. [Along with a verse of scripture tucked]

Aud: [cheers ((mild))----------]=

Oba: [inside the envelope. [So don't tell us]

Aud: =[cheers ((mild))------[cheers/applause-]=

[change isn’t possible. [That woman]

AUD: =[cheers/applause--------[CHEERS/APPL]=

Oba: [knows change is possible.]

AUD: =[CHEERS/APPLAUSE----------]----------=

AUD: =CHEERS/APPLAUSE---cheers----((mild))----

Oba: When I hear the cynical talk that blacks and whites and Latinos can't join together and work together, I'm reminded of the Latino brothers and sisters I organized with, and stood with, and fought with side by side for jobs and justice on the streets of Chicago. So don't tell us change can't happen.

AUD: CHEERS/APPLAUSE ((a few faint chants of Sí, se puede! (.) Sí se puede!))

Oba: When I hear that we'll never overcome the racial divide in our politics, I think about that Republican woman who used to work for Strom Thurmond, who's now devoted to educating inner-city children, and who went out into the streets of South Carolina.

38 and knocked on doors for this campaign.
39 [Don’t tell me we can't change.
40 AUD: [CHEERS/APPLAUSE-------------------------=
41 =--che[ers/applause[--------------]
42 Oba: [Yes we can.
43 AUD: [YES WE CAN=(.)] YES
44 Oba: =Yes we can
45 [change.]
46 AUD: [WE] CAN (.) YES WE CAN (.)
47 [YES WE CAN (.) YES WE CAN (.) YES WE CAN
48 Oba: [YES WE CAN (.)
49 AUD: (.) YES WE CAN (.) YES WE CAN (.) YES WE
50 CAN (.)YES WE CAN (.) [YES WE] CAN
51 Oba: [YES:::]
52 we can heal this nation.
53 Aud: ((mild)) cheers
54 Oba: Yes, we can seize our future.
55 Aud: ((mild)) cheers
56 Oba: And as we leave this great state with a
57 new wind at our backs,
58 Aud: ((mild)) cheers
59 Oba: and we take this journey across this
60 great country, a country we love, with
61 the message we've carried from the plains
62 of Iowa to the hills of New Hampshire,
63 Aud: ((mild)) cheers
64 Oba: from the Nevada desert to the South
65 Carolina coast,
66 Aud: ((mild)) cheers

67 Oba: the same message we had when we were up

68 and when we were down,

69 Aud: ((mild)) cheers

70 Oba: that out of many we are one, that while

71 we breathe we will hope,

72 Aud: ((mild)) cheers

73 Oba: and where we are met with cynicism and

74 doubt and fear and those who tell us that

75 we can't, we will respond with that

76 timeless creed that sums up the spirit of

77 of the American people in three simple

78 words: [Yes, we, can.] [Thank you South]

79 AUD: [YES. WE. CAN.] [cheeRS/APPLAUSE]=

80 Oba: [Carolina. I love you.

81 AUD: =[CHEERS/APPLAUSE----------

So in other words, these structures provide an opportunity for a *different* kind of participation. In regards to art and performance, call-and-response [structures] "provides a way for a group of any status to participate in a public discourse about issues that affect their lives…"Cohen-Cruz, 2012:2; and that is very similar here. By structuring the assertion in a way that the audience can (each independently) reach the same conclusion that the unit will end in a particular way, by proposing a response to an assertion, by calling for collective confirmation to the assertion in this way, it opens up an opportunity for audience members and audiences to participate in a way that is unavailable in other occasions of speech giving.

Although these chants and choral productions are realized in the moment (both the initiation of and the successful completion of it), in some ways these chants are also a fundamental element of campaigning; they reflect a connection between slogans and invocation in particular moments in political speeches (it is why the repertoire is available –

to "show" you know you are a "*candidate-X* person") versus a 'party-event' where, as politicians, each one speaking on policy is not going to have those moments/recognizable slogans to be recognized; the contingencies of participation are very different, demonstrating a kind of epistemics of participation here. This, in turn, has consequences for the relationship between speakers and the audiences they address.

4.3 DISCUSSION: FORMS OF AGREEMENT AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR SOCIAL RELATIONS

As prior research shows, different relationships can be established through the various forms of agreement (vs. confirmation) made relevant and the epistemics surrounding it.
As this chapter points out, for campaign rally speeches the types of social relations established between candidate and constituent depends in part on how the speaker positions herself relative to the audience (e.g., as 'affirming the audience's previously held position/s' rather than putting the audience in a position where they agree *with her*). This analysis is grounded in the types of 'confirmables' speakers produce, as well as the varied responses of the audience.

One prime example of how a speaker can position herself relative to the audience is by looking at places where the two perspectives are presented one-after-the-the other. For example, recall that Obama opened his 'announcement' speech with a "you-formulation" – in essence a series of b-event statements that tells the "audience's story" (as we saw in ex. 4.19). After presenting the audience's story – their reason for being here today (which they confirm), he immediately presents his story; he presents 'his story' as a *second* story. In this respect, the sequential organization of these units mirror the structure of the individual components he uses to build it: he is agreeing with the audience rather than vice-versa.

((partially seen previously as ex. 4.19))

[ex. 4.36] "You came here because" ~ B. Obama

Feb 10 2007 – Springfield, IL (Announce Cand)

```
01    Oba:     (>y'know<)=We All:: (1.2) eh:- made this
02             journey for a reason. (0.8) .mt .hh (1.2) It's
               ... ((14 lines omitted)) ...
17    Oba:  -> You came here becau:se,=eh- (.) you belie:ve,
18             (.) in what this country can be.
19    AUD:     YYYEEEA[AAHHHHHhhhh[hhhh[hhhhhhhhh]
20    AUD:            [APPLAUSE---[clap[ p i n g ]
                |-          ((3.8))          -|
21    Oba:                            [In the fa]ce of war:,
22          -> (0.6) you believe there can be peace.
23    AUD:     YYEEAAHHHHhhhh[hhhhhh]
                |-     ((1.9))     -|
24    Oba:                   [In the] face of despair. (0.4)
25          -> .mt you belie:ve there can be hope.
26             (.)
27    AUD:     yyeeaahhh[hhhhhh]
                |-   ((2.3))   -|
28    Oba:             [In the] fa:c:e, (.) of a politics,
29          -> that shut you ou:t? [(1.1) that's told you=
30    A/m:                         [(     )
31    Oba:  -> =to settle, (.) [.t (.) that's divided us for
32    A/m:                     [(     )
33          -> too lon:g, (.) .t .hh you belie:ve we can be:-
34             One people.=[(0.9) reaching out for what's]=
35    A/m:                [( [    )
36    AUD:                   [yeahs, cheers and applause]=
```

```
37    Oba:      =[P(h)Ossible, (0.8) BUIL]ding that more
38    AUD:      =[ cheers  and  applause ] (( 3.9  total))
39    Oba:      perfect union.
40    AUD:      whoops, [cheers and app[lause ((very mild))
                |-      ((2.6))      -|
41    Oba:      |-1.3-| [-h- heh (0.4) [That's the journey
42          =>> we're on today. (1.0) But let me tell you
43              how I came to be here. As most of you know,
44              I am not a native of this great state.
45    A/m:      that's alright.
46    Oba:      I- (b)hhhhh ((laughs))
47    AUD:      laughter
48    A/m:      (you are now)
49    Oba: =>> HUH-EH. I moved to Illinois over two decades
50              ago. I was a young man then, just a year out
51              of college. I knew no one in Chicago when I
52              arrived wi-, was without money or family
53              connections. But a group of churches had
54              offerend me a job as a community organizer
55              for the grand sum of $13,000 a year.
56    AUD:      ((mild)) yeaaaaaaaaa/wooooooo
57    Oba:      And I accepted the job, sight unseen,
58              motivated then by a single, simple, powerful
59              idea, that I might play a small part in
60              building a better America. My work took
61              took me to some of Chicago's poorest
...             (( 15 lines omitted ))
77              faith. After three years of this work, I
78              went to law school, because I wanted to
```

79 understand how the law should work for those
80 in need. I became a civil rights lawyer, and
81 taught constitutional law, and after a time,
82 I came to understand that our cherished
83 rights of liberty and equality depend on the
84 active participation of an awakened
85 electorate.
86 A/m: yyeEAAHHHHHH
87 AUD: WHOOPS
88 Oba: It was with these ideas in mind that I
89 arrived in this capital city as a state
... ((... *30 lines omitted* ...))
((*continues telling the story of his political career*))
120 Oba: It was here, in Springfield, where North,
121 South, East, and West come together that I
122 was reminded of the essential decency of the
123 American people, where I came to believe
124 that through this decency, we can build a
125 more hopeful America. And that is why, in
((*announces candidacy at lines 126–130*))

Immediately, we can identify some similarities when comparing the two tellings:

(a) he proposes that "you came here because you believe in what this country can be (at lines 17–18) and draws a parallel to his own story that he "moved to Illinois" [so that he] might play a small part in building a better America," (at double-arrowed lines 49–59);

(b) he proposes that "in the face of despair, you believe there can be hope (at lines 24–25); and draws a parallel to his own story that despite the fact that he "knew no one,

[was] without money or family connections… he [was] motivated then by a single simple powerful idea… [of] building a better America" (at lines 51–53/58–60) – in other words, "hope";

(c) he proposes that, despite the problem with politics – that it "shut you out, told you to settle, and divided us for too long" (at lines 28–39), they ["you"] believe "we can be one people, reaching… we can build that more perfect union" (at lines 28–39) and draws a parallel to his own experience with politics, where he "came to believe that through the decency of the American people, we can build a more hopeful America" (at lines 121–125);

Ultimately, through a series of complex rhetorical devices (lists, contrasts, etc.), Obama reflects on a series of both negative circumstances and positive "ideas/reactions" that draw parallels between the experiences of the audience members with Obama's.

However, what should be noted here is *how* those parallels are made: they are not "told" they are in the same position with the same experiences – but it is *demonstrated* through concrete instances described in the course of telling his story. But this is not just "a story" – it is designed to be a 'second story.' As Sacks (1971) points out, stories are very regularly responded to with a second story, and that second stories are designed to demonstrate the understanding the recipient extracted from the original telling. So, in this case, its structure (as a telling) on its own enables the audience to understand and relate to him, but told in that sequential position *shows* not only that he understands them but also demonstrates that through the parallels in their stories *how* it is he understands them – and places himself as the *recipient* of "their story"; he demonstrates his agreement *with them*.

As this research shows, even when it comes to something (believed to be) as structured and one-sided [communication] as speech-making, *sequential position matters.* Placing the audience members in the position to 'confirm' (or disconfirm) the assertions about their experiences and beliefs implies an epistemic priority and primacy in regards to the issues driving the campaign – *their* campaign. Obama's mastery of public speaking enables a form of collective action – precision coordinated collective action – that is pretty

unique. In other words, by navigating the epistemic landscapes through recognizable structures found in ordinary conversation, by virtue of how he delivers them – and *when*, sequentially, he delivers them, it is as if the audience/public set the agenda. By being 'responsive' and empathetic to their needs and goals, he is able to diminish the distance between them – a closeness that is the product of the exchange(s).

These empathetic moments – in a much more compelling manner than Bill Clinton's "sympathetic" moments ("I feel your pain") – invoke a different kind of relationship between speaker and audiences (or audience members). For example, the epistemic relationship established in speeches delivered lacking these moments – more "lecturing" or "giving a speech" – invokes 'being talked *to* and *told*,' versus the ordinary conversational structures that Obama in particular uses which evoke a sense that they are talking 'with' him (as evidenced by their 'conversational' responses to him; recall the 'return' teases). In this sense, not only does Obama talk about giving the people a voice, he actually does so in his speeches by changing the opportunities for their participation, and therefore their positions relative to each other.

As this might indicate, however, it is not merely a matter of incorporating each or any of the elements described in this chapter; it is not simply a matter of using any tease or compliment, making any confirmation relevant or possible, nor is it just about putting two stories together. The relationship between units, or the structuring or the order – or the *sequential organization* – of units can have an incredible impact on the audience's understanding, on their response, but also on the types of relations they imply about the speaker and the audience.

Take for example a case where the relevant order of units is switched. During an event[159] in Ohio, McCain attempts to speak to constituents about some of the financial

[159] This particular extract comes from the 'prepared remarks' portion of a town hall event. Although it has some fundamental differences from a campaign rally speech, the portion where speakers deliver prepared remarks still has some of the same structure – and relevances – as campaign speeches; in addition, the AUDs at town hall meetings tended to reflect more of a 'support base' than an 'oppositional' or even 'mixed' crowd. So although there are some slight differences, at its core these

hardships they are experiencing. He also does two stories, but he does his story (lines 01–09) before theirs (at lines 17–25); and in between he produces the moral of his particular story, and in this way positions his story as example of 'how they could be' (at 09–16).

[ex. 4.37] "Counted out, but if you hold on" ~ John McCain
Apr. 22 '10 — Youngstown, Ohio

```
01    McC:    Back then, .hh there were some very
02            impressive frontrunners, (0.8) there was a
03            very formidable second tier of contenders?
04            (1.1) and then there was me. hh-[heh. En=as
05     AUD:                                   [chuckles
06     McC:   I recall, (0.4) a few pollsters even
07            declared my campaign a hopeless cause,=and
08            there was no margin of error to soften the
09            blow. .hh a person learns along the way that
10            if you hold on, if ya hold on. (0.2) if you
11            don't quit. no matter what the uh=odds are,
12            (0.2) sometimes life will surprise you. .hh
13            Sometimes you get a second cha:nce. (0.2)
14            and opportunity turns back your way. .h And
15            when it does, we're stronger and readier
16            because of all that we had to overcome.
17            (0.3) I bring up all this to you today my
18            friends, (0.8) because the men and women
19            (1.0) of Youngstown know what it feels like
20            (0.7) to be counted out. You've been written
21            off a few times yourselves, (.) in the
```

townhall meetings aim for candidates to relate to A/ms, for both parties to get some understanding of one another. For this reason, this particular instance was included in the research.

22 competition of the market. (0.6) You know
23 how it feels to hear that good things are
24 happening in the American economy, (0.9)
25 they're just not happening to you. We
... ... *15 lines omitted* ...
((*discussing "global economy"*))
41 McC: they're not just a problem they're a
42 <priority.> What. matters. most of ih- all
43 (0.3) M:OST of all, is that you didn't give
44 up. You didn't give up and you won't give
45 up.
46 AUD: clapping--applause-----clapping-----

The way McCain does it here has implications not only for the response, but also for the type of relationship he establishes with them. One problem is the placement of the relative positions. He presents his experience with facing a miserable uncertainty, followed by theirs; presenting this as about 'being the same' – going through rough times. However, by placing his story first it becomes a demonstration of '[how] you are like me' rather than 'I am like you' – which is consequential for the social relations. Rather than words of encouragement ("you won't give up"), in this position it instead demonstrates "this is how you *should* be like me."

Here is how a clear demonstration of how having two sets of stories delivered in order matters for which is placed where *sequentially*. Notice that in the first sequence, two stories placed 'your-story-then-mine' sets up a confirmation then a possible 'celebration' of their similarities. However, this second sequence ('my-story-then-yours') instead sets up for the audience to first agree with his take or his approach to *his* situation (presented at lines 01–12; which, notice here, they do not do despite several pursuits – at lines 13, 14, and 16). Had they responded in this way, it would have celebrated his comeback. Another problem is the fact that the stories are not in fact parallel: his outcome is known, theirs is not; the two

stories imply that "if [you] hold on, you *can* be like me." This actually places him, in certain respects, above them – rather than beside them. This, of course, is reflected in the audience's response – or lack of – and McCain's pursuit (from lines 42 – 46). Even following the pursuit the response is lukewarm at the start, and barely reaches a peak before it dwindles back down to clapping (at line 46).

And this importance is not just limited to stories, but can also be an issue for the sequential organization of units *within the course of a speech*. For example, this moment from Hillary's Super Tuesday speech picks up following her struggle to secure a turn (ex. 3.07), after having worked to indicate when the audience should not respond (ex. 3.16) and then working to the audience to respond (ex. 3.22), after having established that the audience is ready for someone that represents *them* (ex. 4.18). Now securely into the start of the speech, she begins to celebrate the record numbers, celebrating the different states that participated (and thus prompting some celebratory 'regional references' from some audience members), she diverges from the speech to do a "by the way" (a somber one at that: "one really serious note" at arrowed lines 20–31). In doing it this way, she has to suppress the enthusiasm she just boosted; and when she returns, notice the extra effort that goes in to re-invigorating that enthusiasm (at double-arrowed lines 32–33).

[ex. 4.38] "One Serious Note" ~ Hillary Clinton
Feb 5, 2008 — New York, NY (Super Tuesday)

```
01              You're ready for a president(h) who brings
02              your voice, .hh your values and your dreams,
03              (.) to your, White House.
04    AUD:      ROAR-------------------------[-------------]
                |-          (11.2)          -|-   (2.1)   -|
05    HCl:                                    [And- tonight,]
06    AUD:      =[CHEERS--ch[eers-------------]
07              |- (1.2) -| [in record numbers.] (0.8) you
```

```
08              voted not just to make history, (.) but to
09              remake America. [.mt .h Peopl::e] in
10    A/m:                      [ (( screams )) ]
11    HCl:      American Samoa, (.) .mt Arkansas,=
12              =Mass[achus[etts,=Ne[w Jersey,=[Oklahoma,]
13   A/ms:           [woo! [yeah:!  [woooo
14    Aud:                                    [cheers---]=
14    HCl:      Te[nnESSEE, AND THE GREAT STA:TE OF NEW:]=
15    AUD:      [cheers--CHEERS------------cheers-----]=
17    HCl:      =[YOR::K,]
18              =[cheers---CHEERS----------cheers-----------
                |-                (8.6)                  -|
19    AUD:      =cheers----[--------low cheers---------]
20    HCl:   ->            [And- (1.3) y'know- (0.4) on]
21    Aud:      =[low cheers]
22    HCl:   ->  [just-  on ] just one really serious note,
23           -> .hh we:: want=tuh keep the people of
24           -> Arkansas and Tennessee:, in our prayers.
25           -> They suffered horrible tornados. uh tonight.
26           -> [.hh Umm we just talked to:=uh some of our
27              [°(wow)°
28           -> folks there and uh .h- uh people have died,
29           -> uhh in both states. and our thoughts, uh and
30           -> prayers go out to them .hh uhh in this=uhh
31           -> (.) moment of their need. .hh! You know
32          =>> tonight though: is your night. .mt! Tonight
33          =>> [is (.) America's ni[ght.
34    A/m:      [yeahh
35    A/m:                          [(   [   !)
```

```
36    A/m:                                [WO[O!
37    HCl:                                   [A:nd,
38    AUD:                                   [cheers-----]=
39              =cheER[S----cheers-----
40    HCl:            [It's not- (1.6) It's not over yet,
41              because polls are still open in California,
42              [for a few more minutes,
43    AUD:      [cheeERS-----------------------------------
```

So what this suggests is that perhaps certain units belong in a certain place within the speech. So, perhaps it is not merely a matter of how/whether sub-units are connected in one particular major unit (i.e., format of rhetorical devices), or how/whether one major unit is connected to other major units (i.e., combinations or even complex combinations); perhaps taking a look and making connections between the larger units and larger structures of the encounter can provide some additional insight into the organization of not only units but the interaction. For example, in Chapter 3 we noted the structure problems speakers can encounter with the closing of the speech (recall, the 'trifecta': close of a unit, the speech, and the overall structure of the occasion). Previously we saw how the placement (or, more specifically, the misplacement) of a unit within the structure of the speech had one particular consequence. This could indicate that there are ways to structure units and elements in a way that fits within the structure, to facilitate the not only the immediate response, but is organized or structured in such a way to mirror what it is the speaker is attempting to do (e.g., like second stories).

Take for example the close to Obama's Super Tuesday Speech. After telling a story about his work as a community organizer (where he and the other workers did not give up and eventually things started to change – at lines 01–03). He challenges the audience, proposing that 'waiting' for others or another time will not solve challenges we face (03–15) – which several audience members confirm along the way. This headlines that what will

follow will be a proposed solution to those problems. Then, in a complex combination of structures, he not only presents the solutions in a way that the audience can follow along in order to agree (i.e., standard rhetorical device/s), but he constructs it in a way that *includes* them in the solution – building momentum and support (that is independently confirmed) towards a final unit that culminates in the coming together of the speaker with the audience. Using what we have uncovered about the organization of units and the structure of the occasion, and how speakers can transform participation, we can see the careful construction of a combination (so detailed and complex yet the audience has no problem following along – confirming along the way) that opens up a way for the audience to not only agree, but to assert *independently* that "we" will face these challenges, and "we" will succeed; leaving the unit, speech, and event to a close on a high note – complete overlap of the entire final component – that can hopefully translate to action outside the event itself.

[ex. 4.39] "We all can" ~ B. Obama
Feb 5, 2008 — Chicago, IL (Super Tuesday)

01 Oba: .mt And slow:ly but sur:ely, in the wee:ks,
02 and months, to come, .hh the community began
03 to change. (1.3) You see:-, .mt the
04 challenges we face will not be sol:ved(h)
05 (.) .h with one meeting, (0.6) in one night.
06 aud: no::/(some murmurs)
07 Oba: It will not be: reso:lved(*h*) (0.4) on even:
08 a- Super Duper- Tuesday.
09 AUD: chuckles---[murmur/yeahs----[clapp[ing
10 Oba: [.mmt cha:nge
11 will not come(h) (0.5) if we wait for some
12 other person.=
13 A/m: =that's right!=
14 Oba: =OR: if we wait-,

(.) for some other ti:me.

AUD: that's right/right on!/yeahs (who[ops)

Oba: [WE:: are

the ones, (.) we've been waiting for.

A/m: ye[ahh!

AUD: [YEAH::--CHEERS/APPLAUSE-----[----------]=

|- (4.2) -|- (6.5) -|

Oba: [WE:-

AUD: =[clapping----------]

Oba: =[WE:::- (0.7) WE: are] the cha:nge(uh) that

we seek.

A/m: th[at's right

AUD: [mur[murs

Oba: [We are the hope. (0.4) of those boys,

(.) who have so little.

AUD: yeahs/murmu[rs

Oba: -> [who've been tol:d that they

-> cannot ha:ve what they dream.

A/m: right=

A/m: =yea[h

Oba: -> that they cannot- (.) be: what they imagine.

->> (0.8) .mt Yes they can.

AUD: YE[AH:

AUD: ->> [YES THEY CAN

AUD: [Cheers and clapp[ing ((very mild))

Oba: [WE ARE THE HOPE of the

father who goes to work before da:wn, (0.6)

-> and lies awake(*h*). (0.6) with doubt that

-> tells him he cannot give his children the

```
43          ->  same opportunities that someone gave him.
44              (0.7)
45      A/m:    yeah [(     )
46      Oba: ->>     [Yes he can.
47      AUD: ->> YES HE CA:[N!
48      AUD:               [whoops/clap[ping---------------]
49      Oba:                           [WE ARE THE HOPE(h),]
50              of the woman who he:ars that her city. (0.6)
51          ->  will not be rebuilt, (0.7) that she c'not (.)
52          ->  somehow clai:m the life that was s:wept away,
53      A/m:    ye[ah
54      Oba: ->   [in a terrible storm.
55      AUD:    yeah/murmurs
56      Oba: ->> Yes(h), (.) she can.
57      AUD: ->> YES SHE CA:N.=wh[oops and clapping
58      Oba:                     [We: are the hope(h) (0.2) of
59              the future.
60      AUD:    ye[ah ((several distinct 'yeahs' overlapping))
61                [yea[h= ((several 'yeahs' overlapping))
62                    [mu[rmurs
63      Oba:            =[the answer to the cynics who tell us
64              .hh (.) our house must stand divided,
65      A/m:    n[o:!
66      AUD:     [(mu[rmurs)
67      Oba:         [that we cannot come together,
68      A/m:    [(  [    )
69      Oba:    [.h [that we cannot remake this world <as it
70              should be.>
71      A/m:    NO[:
```

72 A/m: [NO[:

73 A/m: [woo!

74 AUD: murmurs

75 (0.3)

76 Oba: We know that we have seen(h) (0.9) something

77 happen (0.5) over the last several weeks,

78 AUD: °mu[rmurs°

79 Oba: [over the past several months,

80 AUD: [murmurs=

81 A/m: [yeah!

82 A/m: =yeah(p)=

83 A/m: =yup=

84 A/m: =woo!

85 (0.9)

86 Oba: We:-, know:, (0.2) that what began as a

87 whisper. (0.8) has no[w swell:ed to a chorus

88 A/m: [yeah!

89 Oba: that cannot be ignored.

90 Aud: right=

91 AUD: =CHEERS=[and APPLAUSE----------]=

92 Oba: [that will not be deterred.]=

93 =[(0.8) THAT WILL RING OUT ACROSS THIS]=

94 AUD: =[CHEERS and APPLAUSE----------]=

95 Oba: =[LA:ND.(0.6) AS A HYMN(*h*)(.) THAT WILL]=

96 AUD: =[CHEERS and APPLAUSE----------]=

97 Oba: =[HEAL THIS NATION, (0.3) REPAI:R THIS]= 16.0

98 AUD: =[CHEERS and APPLAUSE----------]=

99 Oba: =[WOR:LD, (0.9) MAKE. THIS TI:ME(*h*),]=

100 AUD: =[CHEERS and APPLAUSE----------]=

```
101   Oba:      =[DIFFERENT(h), THAN ALL: THE REST(h).]=
102   AUD:      =[CHEERS and APPLAUSE----------------]=
103   Oba: ->> =[(0.8) <YE:S:.> (0.2) [<WE:. (0.2)]=
104   AUD: ->> =[CHEERS and APPLAU[SE-[-----------]=
105   AUD: ->>                      [<WE:. (0.2)]=
106   Oba: ->> =[CA:N.> (0.2) [LET'S GO WORK!]
107   AUD:      =[CHEERS and APPLAUSE---------------------]=
108   AUD: ->> =[CA:N!> (.) <Y[E:S   (.)   WE]: (.) CA:N.>]=
109   AUD:      =[(.) YE[:S, (.) WE: (.) [CA:N! (.) [YE:S,
110   Oba:             [YES, (.) WE (.) [CAN. (.) Y[E:S,
111   AUD:      =[(.) WE: (.) CAN! (.) YE:S, (.) [WE:  CA]N!
112   Oba:      =[(.) WE. (.) CAN. (.) YE:S, (.) [WE CAN.]
```

He headlines that "our" challenges cannot wait for others or for another time to be solved (at lines 03–15), a series of formulations that get confirmed by various audience members with calibrated responses (at line 06, 13, and line 16). He then positions the collective audience – himself included – as the answer ("We are the ones/the change we seek")[160], but still leaves open *how* this can be done (how are "we" the solution?).

He produces the answer through a series of anecdotes (at line 27, then 39, then 49, then 58) that demonstrate how this can be the case (how we can be the answer). He presents the challenges "we [each]" face (that kids face, that fathers/parents face, that those in dire financial straits (who fear rebuilding is not possible) face, and those with a shared future face), structuring each one in a way that presents the audience as the solution to [their own] problems: "we are the hope … for [those who] have been told they can't … let us tell them an answer: Yes they can." In addition, formulated as a confirmable ("we are the hope of…"), he sets it up so that the audience can respond both by confirming but also responding to

[160] Contrast this with the traditional way that politicians position themselves as the solution to the audience's problem/s one can see how this type of a formulation might have some consequences for the relationship between speaker and AUD.

the challenge (to being told "we can't"). And by constructing the answer with the slogan (Yes, we can) in a way that fits with each instance ("Yes, she can; Yes, they can"), it provides a recognizable structure for the audience to produce an *independent* assertion we can answer the challenges we face[161].

Building the "answer" through series of anecdotes (rather than a single one) allows not only for the problem/answer construction to include all several facets of society, but it provides for each successive unit to build on the [calibrated] response/s to each independent unit; each successive builds on momentum of prior unit – building the momentum towards a final unit. So as the speaker approaches completion, having now independently confirmed each of the issues, and that "we" will face those challenges – and *how* we will do it (by answering "we can't" with "yes we can"), the construction and structure of the combination reflect what is coming in the culminating unit: he brings together everyone (kids, parents, those with financial hardships) who face a shared future, to face the same cynics (who tell us "we can't" do things – a list of three), asserting that "our" coming together has been a slow building of momentum ("a whisper to now a chorus"), but nonetheless coming together to present a united front in the face of adversity, to answer "Yes, we can" – to which the audience produces in unison (at lines 103–108) before continuing in a chant as he closes the event. And in this way, by building the unit/speech/occasion's close in this way, he swings the 'momentum' of the units - of the collective responses that have been building and building – "out" towards events outside of the event itself. He makes this explicit as he says, in conclusion, "Let's go work!" at line 106).

Through this final example, we can see how an analysis of all aspects of the occasion (not just the forms speakers use to coordinate responses) – including the specialized speech exchange system and participation framework (Chapter 2), the issues speakers and

[161] Notice that even the slogan is a 'double-barreled' formulation: yes, we can. In conversation, responses of this type do double duty: the "yes" confirms and 'we can' asserts independence [of what it confirms].

audiences face in the encounter and the methods they use to address them (Chapter 3) – can contribute to a complete account of how the restrictions placed on the ways participants can contribute to an occasion can then have implications for the social relations established between participants based on the particular forms selected; and how those can shape the opportunities and bases for public participation. But as this final example also suggests, there may be even larger structures at work: the organization of units within the overall organization of a speech, the organization of a speech within a campaign, and the organization of a campaign within an election that can provide additional insight to the relationship between social relations, social action, and institutional structures.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION

This chapter will conclude he research by summarizing the arguments and major contributions made in Chapters 2 through Chapter 4, how the findings have some implications for future studies on politics, where this research goes from here, concluding by revisiting the notion of 'the decline of oratory' and how research of this sort might address that issue.

SUMMARY OF THE CURRENT RESEARCH AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD

This research is the first of its kind to make explicit that speech giving is not an undifferentiated affair. The occasion matters – speeches get delivered in a wide variety of contexts, and that context matters for what unfolds. We take the first step in differentiating between different types by establishing 'campaign rally speeches' as an institutional occasion for interaction (see Drew and Heritage, 1992) through a descriptive and analytic account of the underlying normative organization of campaign speeches and the contingencies facing both speakers and audience members. This research considers how speakers use these occasions to shape – even transform – the opportunities and bases for public participation in the political process. In this respect, this research offers a novel approach to a basic question posed by politicians and social/political scientists: What sort of social relations do political leaders establish with constituents they serve? And how are modern campaign events used to establish such relations and mobilize supporters?

A rally is an event among many in a campaign, in an effort to encourage potential voters to cast their vote for the(ir) candidate; where the central focus is a speech by the candidate. While it is understood in terms of an effort to "inform" the audience of the candidate's views or positions, the delivery in a "rally" reflects a range of other aims, such as mobilizing those present or watching to joint the campaign, as well as communicating

the breadth and depth of the popularity; both rooted in the type of relations established through the speech (among many other events). To begin to answer the [above] questions, this research develops a comprehensive look at campaign rally speeches as an institutional form and how its specialized code of conduct shapes the contributions the participants make as well as the social relations that emerge as a result of them.

Chapter 2 takes a comprehensive look at the basic features and fundamental characteristics of a campaign rally speech as an institutional form. This includes how the occasion fits within the scope of [a campaign in] an American Democratic system of election/s. In doing so, this research uncovers and makes explicit the major differences between the British and U.S. systems for electing their leaders, and how these differences matter – in both the processes of which participants (i.e., politicians and constituents) are a part as well as the occasions through which participants will engage with one another. These ultimately have consequences for the ways in which politicians and constituents engage and communicate with one another, which ultimately have consequences for the types of social relations they have.

Additionally, in describing the basic features of the sorts of contributions participants can make, Chapter 2 takes a different approach to the study of oratory by paying close attention to audience participation and the different forms of audience response. In the process, this research uncovers the primary role 'vocalizations' (e.g., cheers, whoops, etc.) have in campaign rallies, which prior to this research 'cheers' had only been considered as ancillary to applause (Atkinson, 1984a:21). This research also uncovers a different form of audience response, one entirely unique to campaign rallies: verbalizations; taking it even further by exploring in detail the various forms they can take (e.g., chants, choral co-productions, etc.) and the production features that distinguish them.

Chapter 3 identifies the normative organization that underpins campaign rally speeches as institutional form – how the system works when all of the features described (as described in Chapter 2) come together. In addition, the normative form of the occasion is put to the test as we examine the things that go awry – the contingencies that can arise

and the efforts to maintain or return to that normative form. As the analysis unfolded, this research had to create ways to transcribe some of the campaign rally idiosyncrasies that were crucial to the analysis: distinguishing between the different 'levels' of the audience response (e.g., calibrated responses, screams that sound like whispers, etc.), incorporating the visible behaviors (including body movement and posture) of both the speaker and [multiple] individual audience members into the speaker's talk, and distinguishing between 'duration' of a response and 'silence' in between. Finally, this chapter reveals that when parties make efforts to deal with conduct that departs from this system, the way to handle it is neither a hard-and-fast rule nor a random choice of methods. Rather, the methods participants select are both sensitive and also reflect the kind of violation or departure that must be managed as well as its place or position within the occasion.

Chapter 4 takes all aspects of the occasion (as just described) to provide a complete account of how these restrictions on the contributions participants can make have implications for the social relationships established between them. In addition, we examine the way the forms they use in these events can also shape – even transform – the opportunities and bases for public participation; grounding the analysis in the responses from the audience/s. In focusing more on the audience's response(s), this research is able to expand on the differences between the alternative forms of collective appreciation, and what this might tell us about the different social relations that speakers can establish with audience members as they vary specific components of their speech. In addition, this research takes a big step in the analysis of oratory by considering how the sequential order of units matter, how the sequential organization of the entire speech matters. These levels of organization are consequential for the potential response from the audience, but more importantly those responses can reflect the audience's connection – or distance – to the speaker: to her ideas and the relationship she aims to develop.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICS

This research bears upon two aspects of current and future studies of politics: current studies focus on a content or thematic approach to the study of political rhetoric (what speakers say rather than an interactive approach that not only looks at the audience's response, but also looks at the relationship between units). Second, studies of politicians speaking ('political talk') treat all events as equals, regardless of audience (professional versus lay), mode of delivery (intended for broadcast, in front of a live group, or in front of a live group but intended for broadcast), and regardless of the type of institutional occasion that it is (press conference, debate, town hall, etc.). For example, a study published in *Communication Studies* focused entirely on Obama's "Rhetorical Strategies" (Ikasen, 2011), and another study in *Presidential Studies Quarterly* studied the "11,500 distinct words over 183 speeches and debates spanning the entire campaign (from announcement to election)" (Coe and Reitzes, 2010).

As these studies make clear, the focus in studying 'political talk' is on the rhetorical form – politics as a one-way communication. But as this research demonstrates, there is much to be revealed – and learned – by grounding the analysis of future research in the behaviors of the participants.

FUTURE RESEARCH:

Though this research seems to dig fairly deep into the organization of campaign rally speeches as an institutional form, it actually just barely scratches the surface in terms of what can be learned from it. Understanding its basics, understanding its contingencies and methods for dealing with those contingencies, and understanding the types of contributions participants are restricted to making is a fundamental first step. Much more needs to be done on several fronts regarding the structures of politics and the social relations, this includes: revisiting Atkinson's notion of charisma as a method, doing a complementary analysis of the overall organization of speeches, and producing a similar type of analysis on

other forms of campaign talk (e.g., infotainment interviews, town hall events) and social relations.

ON CHARISMA

Atkinson (1984a) dispels the myth that charisma is something magical or supernatural by explaining that charisma is actually a technical prowess:

> "[S]pellbinding oratory… involves the mastery of a relatively small number of *technical* skills that can be identified and described. Some of these are the basic techniques that are widely used by all politicians for eliciting favourable responses, but outstanding orators also have the ability to use them in quick succession, and to combine a variety of carefully coordinated verbal, non-verbal, intonational and rhythmic signals in the production of an invitation to applaud – and to do so without having to refer to a script," (p. 121).

This research briefly touched on this particular aspect of charisma (recall the discussion on the use of combinations), addressing this by taking a look at how the use of combinations can facilitate calibrated responses and build momentum towards a final unit; and in the ways that the structure or forms – or combination of forms *in a particular order* – can have implications for the types of social relations politicians establish with their constituents. But what is needed is a deeper look into how speakers (not just Obama) *use* complex combinations – focusing on similarities and differences in the structures and various combinations used across a variety of speakers. In addition, this requires examining how those structures impact the audience's response (an aspect that Atkinson's research did not address in-depth).

In addition, I propose we also address some of the other issues raised by Atkinson that did not get the full attention they deserve. Atkinson (1984a) also asserts that 'speaking in overlap' (i.e., refusing invited applause) is "an important weapon in their armoury" (p. 121), but as this research makes clear there are other aspects of overlap (e.g., competition) that warrant some consideration as well. Atkinson also says that the "ability to say something at just the right time to just the right audience in just the right place, (p. 122)–

the articulation of sentiments which caught the mood of audiences they were addressing with greater than average precision, (p. 123). However, this reflects much more of a thematic or content-analysis approach; I propose a more interactional approach to this.

What these [statements] ultimately point to, and what Atkinson in a roundabout way addresses, is a speaker's ability to handle issues in the moment. Atkinson says charisma involves delivering 'without a script' but he is referring to the production of the speech, not the handling of contingencies. Comparing a speaker's prepared remarks with how she actually delivers the speech – or what she does differently – can give us some insight into what speaker's understand is happening. What in-the-moment adjustments do speakers make, and what can that tell us about the speaker's understanding of what is happening – or could be happening?

Another version of this is to compare the successive versions of the same speech. We know that – like comedians – speakers make the same speech several times in order to hone it (in part why they are called 'stump' speeches; and why the media does not cover *every* speech – why, as we reported, the "[attendance] numbers" can become *the* story). With more access to technology, we have the potential to access a wider variety of the speeches that speakers actually deliver (not just the broadcast version/s) from members in the audience who record them and post them on social media. By comparing previous 'stump' versions of a speech (in smaller venues) with the one that ultimately gets delivered on the bigger stage, as well as the varied responses from the audience, we can see what sorts of adjustments speakers (or campaigns) make to them, to perhaps get some insight into what it is they are trying to achieve – and in some cases avoid.

We can investigate this by focusing at particular moments (contingencies) that this research has revealed to be a rich site for investigation: encroaching responses, lagging responses, heckling. As previously stated: "how does one determine when to challenge/compete for the turn, when to "hold," or when to continue? I would very much argue that this is an element of what makes a good SPKR; how one handles these

problematic moments and whether the speaker can manage these moments so that the appearance of it has less of an impact (a ding in the campaign's armor)."

On Overall Organization of Speeches

This research points out how the sequential organization of units can be consequential for the audience's reception of it. Since we [now] know there are structures at play that extend over the course of two or more sequences (sequential organization), can we say the same about units that [possibly] extend over the course of an entire speech – perhaps even over the course of an entire campaign?

We also covered (briefly) how particular might belong in certain places (e.g., speech openings are the appropriate place for thanks and appreciation, and other 'preliminary' matters), which suggests that perhaps there is an overall structural organization to a speech. Preliminarily we know that there is a beginning, middle, end of a speech – a pretty basic notion of speech making, where there are certain things that belong in certain places. We noted some of these (thanks, appreciation at the beginnings, etc.), but have only begun to uncover the consequences of item placement – or misplacement (what happens when Hillary moves her thanks to the end – kills momentum).

In addition, can we take things a step further: can we make the same observations about the organization of speeches within a campaign? Can we make the same observations about a campaign within an election? And can we bring this full circle and draw conclusions between the organization of speeches and campaigns at these levels and charismatic speakers?

On Other Forms of 'Campaign Talk'

This research has provided some new insight into the ways politicians and constituents engage with one another, and how it is consequential for their relationship. What can be seen by doing the same sort of analysis on other forms of campaign talk? In the last decade or two, politicians have been increasingly willing to appear on Infotainment news programs,

specifically infotainment interviews; to the point where it has almost become a regular occurrence whereas in decades past politicians rarely made such appearances. Some say this is in an effort to 'reach out' to the voters. But what exactly are they extending, and what are they getting – if anything – in return?

Town hall meetings have also seen an increase in occurrence – especially in the 2008 campaign. What exactly are town hall meetings, what sorts of things can we expect? We know that in some sense, town hall meetings include some introductory remarks by the candidate (i.e., a speech) and then a question/answer session that follows. How is that speech different from campaign rally speeches – or is it different? How are the question/answer sessions different from the question/answer exchanges in infotainment interviews – or even news interviews?

These sorts of questions are particularly timely given the respective organizing committees are constantly making changes to the appearances and the types of appearances candidates make (for example, more or less debates, new terms to the debates, etc.), and making adjustments based on advances in technology. By refocusing the study of politics (and mass communications) on the interactional organization of political gatherings and events, grounded in the moment-by-moment interaction, research of this kind can produce a better understanding of how political discourse is being reshaped within the new media environment, and in some respects provide some insight into how these changes might be affecting the social relations between politicians and constituents. In addition, this type of research can provide an empirical basis for evaluating future changes, and for suggesting how we might find better ways of involving the public in the political processes they use to select their representatives and leaders.

THE DECLINE OF ORATORY

The argument for the 'decline of oratory' (Fairlie, 1984; Liebert, 2000; Atkinson, 2008, 2010, 2012) questions whether the overall decline in the quality of speeches (more unsuccessful than successful speeches) is due to the quality of the speakers and speeches, or from the

diminished responses from the audience [reflecting diminished interest in the form]. Without considering whether there is a connection between the two

This research warrants revisiting this notion that oratory is on the decline. Can we ground or perhaps account for the criticisms in actual behaviors of the participants – or perhaps provide an account for the criticized behaviors – in an effort to uncover some solutions? For example, one of the reasons stated for the decline of oratory is that the politician does not know whom he is addressing. Is it perhaps the case that speakers do not know *how* to address them? Fairlie (1984) used the example of televised debates and prepared televised talks. So perhaps we may discover that the root of the issue is that politicians do not know how to perform [particular actions] within the restricted framework for that particular occasion? Another reason given for the decline of oratory is that there are almost no common allusions that a politician can make. Is it perhaps that politicians do not know how to formulate their messages in such a way that prompts a response from the audience *at large*? Can additional research provide the answers? Can future research [as described] provide some insight into how to insight into how to deal with the future changes that might in some way address these criticisms? This research suggests we find out.

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APPENDIX A

Transcribing Conventions

((Conventional notations and symbols))

:	stretch
CAPS	increase in volume
( )	transcriber unsure
((*notes*))	transcribers notes
underline	stress or emphasis

Conventions regarding volume or magnitude of aud/AUD responses in differing levels:

A/m	individual audience member
Aud	response coming only from "some" of the audience
AUD	response coming from most if not all of the audience
°	spoken quieter than rest of talk
•	quieter in the audio, however only due to 'speaker(s)' not having microphone (is obviously not a whisper or spoken under-breath)

claps	a few A/ms only; sporadic at best
clapping	a few A/ms
applause	low level, but more than a few "A/ms"
APPLAUSE	

[((*some talk*))	talk overlapping talk
[((*some talk*))	

{((*some talk*))	grin overlapping some talk
{*grins*	

(.)	micropause in speech (less than 1/10 of a second)
(x.x)	time of silence
|-(x.x)-|	duration of a vocalization

"CHEERS/APPLAUSE"	between vocalizations: indicates that the vocalizations, for all intents and purposes, occur at the same time;
--------- following	indicates that the vocalization continues (very similar to :::: stretch in speech)
--- followed by a different response	indicates the

```
22     AUD:   -> who[ooPS/cheers/yeahs/whistles--applau[se
```

>(*talk*)<	talk that is sped up;
>>(*talk*)<<	talk that is sped up even more (than "><");
>>>(*talk*)<<<	talk that is sped up even more than ">><<")
<(*talk*)">	talk that is stretched and slowed

APPENDIX B

Table of U.K. General Election dates, Post-WWII

Since WWII, only four of the 17 general elections occurred anywhere near conference season (4 elections held in *October: 1951, 1959, 1964, and 1974). And of the remaining 13, the closest to conference season would be two held in *February (1950 and 1974).

The average term length of Parliament is just three years and seven months. Of the 17 post-WWII general elections,

(i) only four (almost 24%) were held near the five-year mark;
(ii) six of elections (35%) were held before Parliament had served four years
(iii) with three of those (18%) occurring before Parliament even completed their second year.

So, with 13 of the elections called unexpectedly, thereby only providing – literally – a single month's notice for the election, the design of the system produced little notice and (as a result) a relatively short campaign season leading up to a single election [day].

Table of U.K. general election dates, post-WWII:

(July	1945)			
*February	1950	4y, 7mo		
*October	1951	1y, 8mo		(iii)
May	1955	3y, 7mo	(ii)	
*October	1959	4y, 5mo		
*October	1964	5y, 0mo	(i)	
March	1966	1y, 5mo		(iii)
June	1970	4y, 3mo		
*February	1974	3y, 8mo	(ii)	
*October	1974	0y, 8mo		(iii)
May	1979	4y, 7mo		
June	1983	4y, 1mo		
June	1987	4y, 1mo		
April	1992	4y, 10mo	(i)	
May	1997	5y, 1mo	(i)	
June	2001	4y, 1mo		
April	2005	3y, 11mo	(ii)	
April	2010	5y, 0mo	(i)	

APPENDIX C

B. Obama – "The Very Same Course (full)" Mar 04, 2008

01 Oba: But in this election, we will offer two very
02 different visions of the America we see in the
03 twenty-first century.
04 A/m: woo!
01 Oba: Because John McCain may claim long history of
02 straight talk and independent-thinking, and I
03 respect that. But in this campaign, he's
04 fallen in line behind the very same policies
05 that have ill-served America.
06 Aud: appl[ause
07 Oba: [He has seen where George Bush has taken
08 our country, and he promises to keep us on the
09 very same course.
10 AUD: boos
11 Oba: It's the same course that threatens a century
12 of war in Iraq – a third and fourth and fifth
13 tour of duty for brave troops who've done all
14 we've asked them to, even while we ask little
15 and expect nothing of the Iraqi government
16 whose job it is to put their country back
17 together.
18 Aud: Cheers
19 Oba: A course where we spend billions of dollars a
20 week that could be used to rebuild our roads
21 [and our schools; to care for our veterans]=
22 Aud: [cheers----------]=
23 Oba: =[and send our children to college.]
24 Aud: =[CHEERS----------]CHEERS
25 Oba: It's the same course that continues to divide
26 and isolate America from the world by
27 substituting bluster and bullying for direct
28 diplomacy. by ignoring our allies and
29 refusing to talk to our enemies even though

Presidents from Kennedy to Reagan have done just that. Because strong countries and strong leaders aren't afraid to tell hard truths to petty dictators.

Aud: cheers

Oba: And it's the same course that offers the same tired answer to workers without health care and families without homes; to students in debt and children who go to bed hungry in the richest nation on Earth — four more years of tax breaks for the biggest corporations and the wealthiest few who don't need them and aren't even asking for them. It's a course that further divides Wall Street from Main Street; where struggling families are told to pull themselves up by their bootstraps because there's nothing government can do or should do — and so we should give more to those with the most and let the chips fall where they may. Well we are here tonight to say that this is not the America we believe in [and this is not

Aud: no::/yeas

Oba: the future we want. [We want a new course for

A/m: [Yeah:::

Aud: [clapping

Oba: this country. [We want new leadership in

AUD: [mild cheers----cheers--------

Oba: Washington. We want change in America.

APPENDIX D

H. Clinton – "Cheers every step of the way"

Sometimes this issue is so common that speaker show no display that the screams are problematic. For example, when the audience responds at non-political messages/non-TRPs (at 'starred' lines), Hillary gives no indication that it is problematic or makes no attempts to compete for the turn/s. In fact, she cuts her turn off despite having started even though (at the time she cut off her turn) only a few audience members were shouting out.

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[Appx D] "Every step of the way" ~ H. Clinton
         May 13, 2008 – Charleston, WV (WV Primary)

01    Hil:     [Tha:nk you::.  (3.8)      ] You know:,
02    AUD:     [CHEERS/APPLAUSE---cheers--]----------=
03    Hil:      [(.) like the so:ng] says, it's almost
04    Aud:     =[cheers-----------]
05    Hil:   * h[eaven.
06    A/m:      [WE LOVE [YOU!
07    AUD:               [cheers[CHEERS/APPLAUSE-------=
08              =cheers[-applause--------------=[
09    Hil:            [And I:, am so grateful, [(.) for=
10    A/m:                                     = [(    !)=
11    Hil:     =[this OVE]Rerwhelming vote of
12    A/m:     =[(     !)]
13    Hil:     confidence.
14    A/m:   * we love [you!
15    A/m:   * we love [you!
16    Hil:  ->         [(Now::-
17    AUD:             [cheERS/APPLAUSE--cheers--c[lapping
18    Hil:                                        [There
19              are some who have wanted to cut this race
20              shor:t, .hh!-
21    AUD:     NAH!/BOO:::::!!
```

22 Hil: They say, "Give up, (0.2)[(.) It's too]=
23 AUD: [booOO:/noOO:]=
23 har::d, (.) The mountain is too high, But here
in West
24 Virginia, you know a thing or two. (.)
25 [about= rough roads to the top of the]=
26 A/m: [woo!
27 AUD: =cheers----------]=
28 HIL: =[mountain.
29 AUD: =[----------APPLAUSE--
30 HIL: We know from the Bible that faith can
31 move mountains.
30 AUD: CHEERS
31 HIL: And, my friends, the faith of the
32 Mountain State has moved me.
33 AUD: CHEERS
34 Hil: I am more determined than ever to carry
35 on this campaign,
36 AUD: CHEERS/APPLAUSE
37 Hil: until everyone has had a chance to make
38 their voices heard.
39 Aud: (weak) cheers
40 Hil: I want to commend Senator Obama and his